

PACIFIC LINGUISTICS

Series A - 81

PAPERS IN AUSTRONESIAN LINGUISTICS NO. 1

edited by
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Copyedited by Janet Ezard and Joan Birnie

Typeset by Anne Rees

Printed by A.N.U. Printing Service

The editors are indebted to the Australian National University for assistance in the production of this series

This publication was made possible by an initial grant from the Hunter Douglas Fund

First Published 1991

Maps drawn by Theo Baumann

Bound by F & M Perfect Bookbinding

ISSN 0078-7531, 1032-5077 ISBN 0 85883 402 2

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PREFACE

This is the second of *Pacific Linguistics*' Series A volumes to appear under a recently adopted policy whereby volumes are edited by members of the Editorial Board or other invited persons. This policy has been adopted to make cataloguing, bibliographic referencing, and finding volumes in libraries simpler. In the past these features were complicated by the facts that (i) there were many subseries under Series A, and (ii) all contributors to a Series A volume were listed as its authors so that anyone wishing to consult an article in a volume had to know under which author the volume was catalogued in order to find the volume. Now volumes will be listed under the editor's name. In adopting this policy, however, it should be pointed out that the editor's duties will vary from one volume to another. In some cases the editor will have little more to do with the production of the volume than a member of the editorial board would do in connection with the publication of volumes in our other series. In other cases the editor will play a major role in the production of the volume, by soliciting papers and reworking contributors' articles. In any event, the editor will be a specialist in the field represented by the volume, and his/her role will be indicated in its preface or introduction. In the case of the present volume, the editor's tasks have in general been limited to those of referee and editorial adviser.

Series A volumes will not be on specific themes. They will remain as they have always been – collections of individual papers. Any special thematic volumes will be published in Series C. We hope that this new policy will make life easier for our contributors, readers and other users.

TOM DUTTON

INTRODUCTION

Four of the papers of this issue of *Pacific Linguistics* were originally presented as linguistic contributions to the Sixth European Colloquium on Indonesian and Malay Studies (ECIMS), held in Passau (West Germany), 22-27 June 1987.

As with the previous colloquiums (Paris 1977, London 1979, Naples 1981, Leiden 1983 and Sintra 1985) ECIMS aimed at gathering social scientists of various persuasions and breedings, among them economists, sociologists, historians, literary scientists, anthropologists and linguists. Scholars from four Southeast Asian and ten European countries as well as from Australia met under the general conference topic 'The Daerah, Past and Present'. This formulation left room for a wide spectrum of subjects, only implicitly excluding studies pertaining to non-regional, that is national, matters.

In line with the limited number of professional linguists among the participants at the Colloquium, the linguistic contributions had to be of an exploratory and of a general informative character rather than theory oriented or directed at the solution of specific intricacies of unknown and inaccessible languages. Two of the papers from this colloquium in this collection – those by J. Noorduyn and B. Nothofer – present comprehensive pictures of the linguistic scene on the island of Sulawesi (in Indonesia) and of Brunei Darussalam respectively. The two other ECIMS papers in this volume deal with aspects of the spread and history of Malay: C.D. Grijns discusses the varieties of Malay which were in use in Java around the beginning of the 20th century, Steinhauer's papers continue his observations on eastern Indonesian varieties of Malay, this time on Malay in Ambon in the middle of the 19th century.

The ECIMS contributions are supplemented by papers by Barbara Dix Grimes, on the position of Ambon Malay today, by K.A. Adelaar, on the origins of Sri Lanka Malay and on the early history of Malagasy, and ones by Stephen Levinsohn, on *di* clauses in Malay, and Margaret Florey on shifting patterns of language allegiance.

HEIN STEINHAUER

1991

NEW IDEAS ON THE EARLY HISTORY OF MALAGASY

K.A. ADELAAR

1. INTRODUCTION

The year 1988 will prove a milestone in the study of Malagasy historical linguistics – as was 1951, the year in which Dahl showed that the Malagasy language has its direct roots in the South-East Barito area of South Kalimantan. In 1988 Pierre Simon and Waruno Mahdi each published a book on the linguistic history of Malagasy. Simon focuses on the historical and sociolinguistic conditions under which Malagasy developed, whereas Mahdi draws extra attention to Proto Austronesian linguistics and prehistory, but in general they are both concerned with the same subject. What are the roots of Malagasy? How did it develop into the language it is today? And what were the circumstances which contributed to this development?

In the following pages I give a critical evaluation of Simon and Mahdi's works. For each book I give a summary, in which I try to present the author's opinions, then I proceed with my own criticism. I then conclude the article with a new hypothesis regarding the sociohistorical conditions under which the Malagasy language and people came into being.

2. SUMMARY OF SIMON'S BOOK

Simon proposes several periods in the history and reconstruction of Ancient Malagasy. He does so for a period starting in the 2nd century AD and lasting until the arrival of West Europeans in the Indian Ocean. Simon divides the history of the Malagasy language into three main stages: 1) 'Indonesic Proto Malagasy', 2) 'Common Paleo-Malagasy' and 3) the split into Malagasy dialects.

1) **INDONESIC PROTO MALAGASY.** Simon contends that this language was an early offshoot of Proto South-East Barito. In the 2nd century AD, some Proto South-East Barito speakers, conveniently called 'Wejus', moved to the South Kalimantan coast, developed sailing activities across the Java Sea and founded one or possibly several kingdoms on its shores. On Java's north coast the Wejus came in contact with speakers of Malayo-Javanic languages. Through this contact, which must have lasted some 150-200 years, the language of the Wejus underwent a 'phonetic and morphological revolution' and developed into a separate language, 'Indonesic Proto Malagasy'.

2) **COMMON PALEO-MALAGASY.** In the 3rd century AD, according to Simon, the Wejus established relations with the East African coast, and in the four centuries to follow, some of them went over to East Africa. In the 7th century the Weju metropolis lost the hegemony over the Java Sea

H. Steinhauer, ed. *Papers in Austronesian linguistics*, No.1, 1-22.
Pacific Linguistics, A-81, 1991.

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to the maritime empire of Srivijaya, which also continued the trade with East Africa. The Wejus probably founded a trade emporium in the Comoros, and at first they used Madagascar only as a stop-over place on the way to and from the metropolis. In their new home they were soon involved in a situation of diglossia with speakers of one or several coastal Bantu languages. These languages should not be confused with Swahili or with the Swahili-like dialects Ngazija and Nzuani of the Comoros which would influence the development of Malagasy later on.¹ Language contact between Indonesic Proto Malagasy and North-East Coast Bantu gave rise to a pidgin. This pidgin was gradually relexified with vocabulary from Indonesic Proto Malagasy (which was still the language of the Weju metropolis in Southeast Asia) and also with vocabulary from Malayo-Javanic languages for as long as contacts lasted between the colony and its metropolis. Simon labels the relexified creole language which originated in this way 'Common Paleo-Malagasy'. Its structure and vocabulary were predominantly 'Indonesic', but its sound system had undergone a marked North-East Coast Bantu influence, as is most clearly testified in the fricativisation of its non-aspirated stops and the de-aspiration of its aspirated stops.

3) THE DIALECT-SPLIT. Around the 6th century AD, Indonesic Proto Malagasy had ceased to influence Common Paleo-Malagasy, and the latter became subject to a series of dialect splits. The Wejus had their base on the Comoros (and possibly already also in northern Madagascar). Some of them began to move to the south-western part of Madagascar. This gave rise to a south-western dialect ancestral to the present-day dialects of Vezo, Antandroy, Mahafaly and Bara. Through other migrations which followed about a century later, the remaining non-south-western dialect of Indonesic Proto Malagasy developed into a western branch ancestral to the various forms of Sakalava, and a branch ancestral to the northern dialects (Tsimihety and Antankarana) and the eastern dialects (including Merina and Betsileo). South-West Malagasy and North Malagasy are believed to be two extremes of a dialect-chain. The formation of Common Paleo-Malagasy and the spread of Malagasy dialects were a result of the 'Weju-Vazimba civilization wave'; it was followed in the 8th century by a 'Weju-Buki civilization wave' which particularly affected the northern and eastern dialects, providing them with Malay and Proto Swahili vocabulary.

All dialects derive from Common Paleo-Malagasy. In contrast to the opinion often held among scholars dealing with Madagascar, Simon maintains that none of the dialects are developments from other languages, nor does any of them have a significant influx of foreign lexical elements in their 100-item basic wordlist. The measure of archaism of the dialects conforms to the order in which they split off: the south-western dialects are the most archaic, the northern ones the least.

The way the Malagasy dialects reflect Proto Austronesian (or Proto South-East Barito) **-li-* and **-ti-* has been held diagnostic for a basic genetic dialect division (Dez 1963). Roughly speaking, western and south-western dialects have maintained *li* and *ti*, whereas eastern and northern dialects changed **li* into *di* and **ti* into *tsi* (Dahl 1988, Dez 1963). However, the present South-East Barito languages in Kalimantan have either *li* and *ti* or *di* and *si* for these phoneme sequences. According to Simon, the changes involving these pairs must therefore be a pre-Common Paleo-Malagasy retention, and they are not critical for a basic genetic division of Malagasy dialects.

In Simon's view, the Weju movement from the Comoros to Madagascar was probably caused by the pressure exerted by Bantu migrations from West Africa to East Africa and the Comoros. (The Comoros are now a mainly Bantu-speaking area.) A scenario in which the Wejus colonised the

¹ According to Simon, these coastal Bantu languages must have belonged to the central or 'Pangani' branch of North-East Bantu. Swahili, Ngazija and Nzuani belong to the 'Sabaki' branch of North-East Bantu.

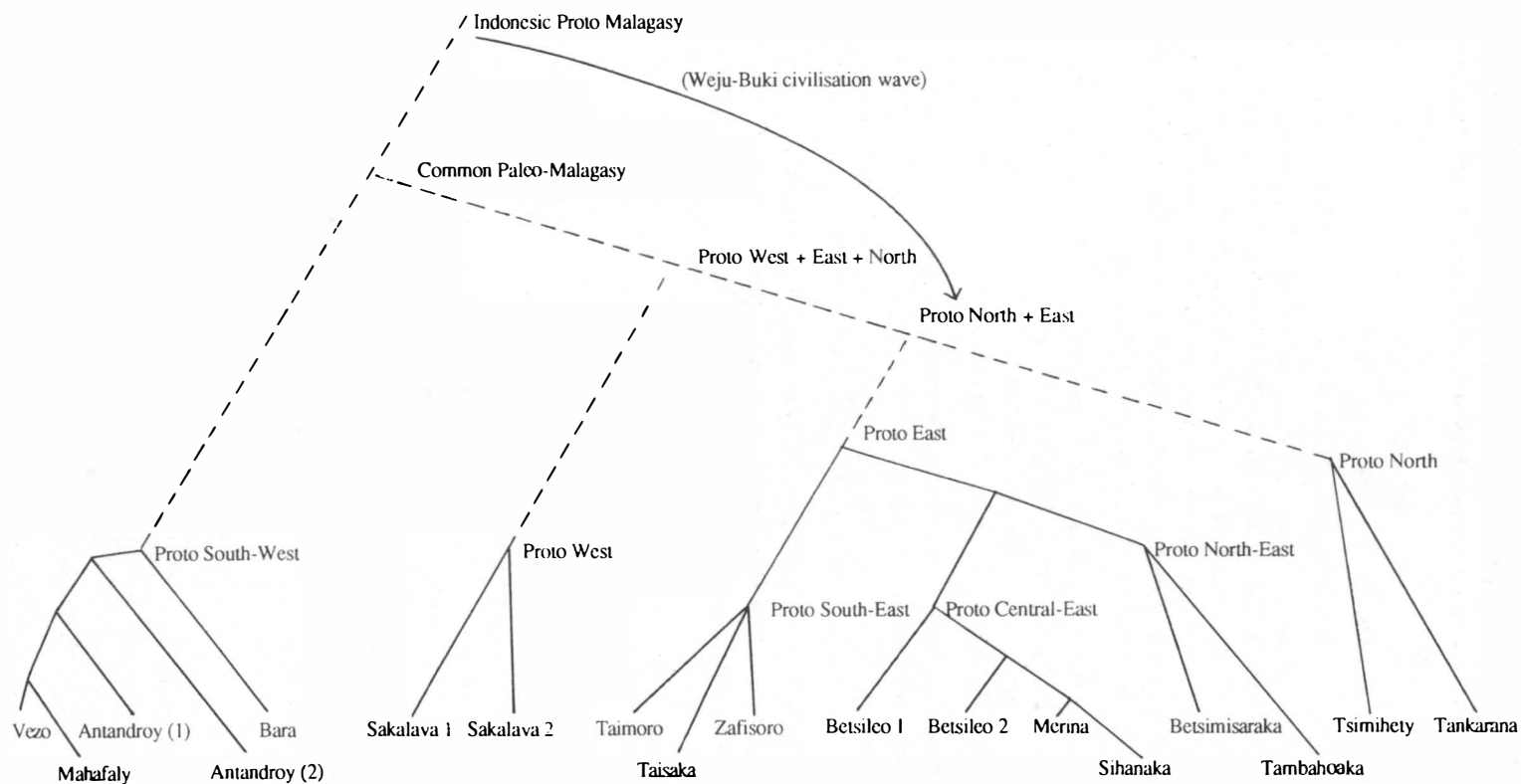


FIGURE 1: SIMON'S CLASSIFICATION OF THE MALAGASY DIALECTS (p.228)

Comoros before they eventually moved into Madagascar would explain among other things why the present-day Malagasy people do not have a collective memory of their Southeast Asian roots: the impact of more recent migrations would have pushed such a memory to the background.

3. CRITICISM OF SIMON'S BOOK

Simon's study settles the matter with regard to a number of topics which elsewhere in the literature have given rise to rather confusing and unfounded assumptions. His emphasis on the fact that Malagasy has its direct roots in the South-East Barito isolects is important in the light of the doubts and alternative theories of other scholars dealing with Malagasy history (cf. Hébert 1961; Southall 1975; Vérin 1975; Takaya et al. 1988). Linguistic research has shown that Malagasy is genetically closest to the South-East Barito languages, and a basic acceptance of this conclusion seems to me a *sine qua non* for fruitful further research into the history of Malagasy.

Simon's conclusion that the Malayo-Javanic languages were the vehicular languages for the Sanskrit and other Indian influences on Malagasy is basically correct (in spite of the unwarranted importance which Simon attributes to Madurese, see below). This has important implications for theories asserting direct cultural contacts between Malagasy and Indians (cf. also Adelaar in press a).

Simon's approach to the Malagasy dialect classifications made so far is critical and to the point, allowing for the fact that his findings are based on an insufficient corpus of data (i.e. Dez 1963; Vérin, Kottak and Gorlin 1969). His remark that all Malagasy dialects stem from the same stock language is also relevant in view of some confusing views held by other scholars on this matter.

But one should also recognise the weaknesses in Simon's work. Its leading hypothesis is that the early 'Wejus' developed a pidgin through their contacts with speakers of Bantu languages. It is the present-day Malagasy phonology which allegedly testifies to such a stage, the lexicon of this pidgin having gradually been relexified with vocabulary from authentic 'Weju', and the grammatical structure having remained remarkably archaic (even vis-à-vis the South-East Barito languages). But there are in fact no grounds at all for a pidgin or creole theory. The Bantu influence on Malagasy phonology is a straightforward result of continuous and intensive language contact between Malagasy speakers and speakers of Bantu languages. One would expect the strongest evidence for creolisation to be found in morphosyntactical characteristics, but in Malagasy these characteristics point to precisely the contrary: no pidginisation nor creolisation, but maintenance of the original morphological and syntactical system. This system is extremely archaic and in fact much closer to Proto Austronesian than is the structure of most west Indonesian languages, including the South-East Barito ones. The idea of relexification is far-fetched and has little empirical foundation. It seems to have been introduced only to make the creolisation theory fit.

Simon's view of the history of Malagasy depends on a series of hypothetical events. He has his own free interpretation of early Southeast Asian history, and fills out the margins of uncertainty left by Çoedès (1964). He dates the first Indian influence in Indonesia at least a century earlier than Çoedès' (Çoedès 1964:42-44) prudent estimate of the 4th century AD. He calls Funan an 'Indonesian kingdom', in spite of its geographical situation in the Gulf of Siam, and in spite of its name, which rather points to a Khmer origin, if anything (Çoedès 1962:61). He brings Taruma, Srivijaya and Kutei into the picture, and gives them much more historical relief than is warranted by the historical data. Early South-East Barito speakers or 'Wejus' are assumed to have left their homeland and started sailing to both sides of the Java Sea. They allegedly founded one or several

kingdoms, and their language subsequently underwent influence from Malayo-Javanic languages, which included indirect lexical influence from Indian languages. Only afterwards, according to Simon, did some of them sail to East Africa. The problem with this reconstruction of early Malagasy history is that no traces whatsoever remain in Southeast Asia, except for linguistic evidence from the South-East Barito languages and the vague suggestion of a few lines in a South-East Barito language on one of the 7th century Old Malay inscriptions from South Sumatra. There is no written source, oral history or archeological site to use as a foothold, and this is the reality we have to acknowledge if we are looking for the roots of Malagasy language and culture.

Simon's use of the term 'Malayo-Javanic' is confusing as he does not clearly specify to what degree the Malayo-Javanic languages which influenced the 'Weju' can be identified with the present-day Malayo-Javanic languages. Of the Malayo-Javanic languages, (a form of) Madurese is supposed to have influenced 'Weju' the most. Due to an original Sanskrit influence, says Simon, Madurese and the 'Weju' language underwent phonological developments causing the emergence of a series of aspirated voiced stops along with unaspirated voiced stops. It is this aspirated series which eventually developed into the modern Malagasy voiced stops, whereas the unaspirated series developed into the modern Malagasy voiced fricatives.¹ But why posit a hypothetical stage with 'Weju' aspirated stops when the Malagasy situation of several reflexes for the original Proto Austronesian voiced stops has an almost exact parallel in the South-East Barito languages? Retention from South-East Barito is a more realistic explanation than Sanskrit or Madurese influence. Another piece of phonological evidence for Madurese influence (viz. the merger of Proto Austronesian **b* and **p* into Malagasy *-ka*, Madurese *-q*) is based on a mistaken interpretation of Nothofer (1975:117,142). The Madurese are relative late-comers in Indonesian history. There is no evidence of Madurese as an important cultural or trade language until relatively recent times. The earliest inscriptions in Madura stem from the 14th century AD, and they were written in Old Javanese.² Evidence for Madurese lexical influence on Malagasy is negligible. The above hypotheses are exemplary of Simon's speculative perspective on the pre-East-African history of Malagasy. It is to be feared that they combine into an almost totally impressionistic theory for which there is hardly any empirical support.

Simon claims that his classification of Austronesian languages is inspired by Blust (1980), but it is hard to recognise any of the latter's ideas in it. It is a rather strange combination of Blust's primary bipartite division of Austronesian languages into Malayo-Polynesian and Taiwanese languages, with a lower-order subgrouping based on Dyen's (1965) lexicostatistical findings. The languages of central and eastern Indonesia and the Oceanic languages are not indicated (except for a separate branch labelled with an unexplained 'PMM + PPM'). The Malayo-Javanic languages and the South-East Barito languages are classified according to Dyen (1965), and amendments to this classification (Nothofer 1985, Hudson 1978³) are not taken into account.

Simon's internal classification of East Barito languages is represented in Figure 3 (in section 4). Simon considers the East Barito languages to have grown out of a dialect chain. Samihim, which is spoken relatively close to the south Kalimantan coast, was the southernmost extreme of this chain and bears most resemblance to Malagasy. (For an evaluation of this classification, see p.13. For an

¹ This explanation ignores the fact that the Malagasy fricativisation of stops also affected **p* and **k* (which became *f/p* and *h/k* respectively), whereas in Madurese the fricativisation was limited to historically voiced stops.

² viz. the Mandigara inscription in Nganjuk which was made in AD 1320 (Damais 1952:81).

³ Hudson's views on the internal and external classification of Barito languages are given in Figure 2 (in section 4).

evaluation of Simon's treatment of the history and classification of Bantu languages, I refer the reader to Nurse (to appear).

Simon's views on the history of Malagasy *mi-* (an intransitive verb prefix) show a lack of familiarity with Proto Austronesian morphosyntax. According to Simon, *mi-* does not derive from Proto Austronesian **maR-*, but it reflects a Proto Austronesian **mi-* (which, he says, (p.97) was an allomorph of **-um-*).

Simon uses a terminology pertaining to genetic classification in paleontology in order to refer to comparative linguistic concepts (p.24), which is unnecessary and complicates the reading of his book. Furthermore, his use of terms like 'Weju' or 'Buki', while claimed to be connotationally neutral, is still somewhat tendentious in view of the ill-founded speculations that have been made on the basis of the similarity between the terms 'Vezo' (a seafaring people in Madagascar), 'Bajau' (Indonesian, Malaysian and Philippine 'Sea-Gypsies') and 'Wajo' (a South Sulawesi kingdom), or the terms 'Buki' (a term used by East Africans for Malagasy people) and 'Bugi/Wugi' (the name of an important seafaring people in South Sulawesi).

Simon gives many Malagasy etymologies. Many of these are interesting, but one also has to be wary of a substantial number of ill-founded etymologies. There are, for instance, neither phonological nor semantic grounds for assuming that *manana* 'have, possess' is related to Malay *bər-nama* 'have a name, named; famous, respectful' (p.82); that *boto* 'boy' derives from a Sanskrit *batu* (?) (p. 80); that the terms *Vahoaka* 'the subjects of a state; the people, the public' and *Baŋka* (the name of an Indonesian island) are in any way related to Minangkabau *awak* (p.42);¹ that *vazaha* 'foreigner' is related to Javanese *bajag* 'pirate', *adala* 'crazy' to Javanese *âdaran* [sic]² 'crazy', or *takalo* 'exchange' to Javanese *tukər* 'exchange' (p.92).

Reading Simon's book is made more difficult by the fact that it has been very poorly edited. It contains an embarrassing number of typographical, orthographical and bibliographical errors, and there are also many mistaken cross-references, as well as errors in the spelling of proper names, toponyms and foreign language data.

The above list of criticisms is by no means exhaustive; it clearly shows that Simon's book should be read with great caution. Simon seems to have had difficulties in integrating the great mass of material involved in his study. The quality of his book would have gained if its scope had been narrowed down, if the subject matter had been treated less speculatively and thought out more profoundly, and if the layout had been given due care.

4. SUMMARY OF MAHDI'S BOOK

The main issues in Mahdi's book are 1) Malagasy morphophonology; 2) migrations of the early Austronesians, classification of Austronesian languages and Proto Austronesian phonology; 3) classification and phonological history of the Barito languages; and 4) the external linguistic influences which caused certain Malagasy word-final changes. Mahdi treats these issues in the main part of his book; in a supplement, he enlarges upon various related cultural-historical and methodological questions.

¹An assumption which is caused by confusing the connotational and the literal translation of *bahasa awak* (respectively 'the Minangkabau language' and 'our language') – *bahasa* 'language', *awak* 'body' (often used as a personal pronoun).

²Possibly meant to be *edan* 'crazy'?

1) MALAGASY MORPHOPHONOLOGY. Mahdi's morphophonemic analysis of Malagasy mainly concerns the processes involved in suffixation. Mahdi posits a number of morphophonemes (vowels as well as consonants) by means of which the affixed form of most lexemes can regularly be derived from their base.

Consonants are categorised according to their possible positions in a lexeme: there are 'defective consonants' (never occurring at the end of a lexeme), 'weak consonants' (occurring at the end of a lexeme but only realised before a suffix) and 'strong consonants' (occurring at the end of a lexeme; when the lexeme is not suffixed, they are realised as *-tr(a)*, *-k(a)* or *-n(a)*).

Mahdi establishes a word pattern with regular stress on the penultimate syllable: where there is a single vowel with irregular stress on the phonemic level, he posits double vowels on the morphophonemic level.

Mahdi shows that some of the irregular derivations which he tries to solve with morphophonemes can be explained as historically regular morphophonemic patterns which later became disrupted. For instance, final **t* and **r* must at one time have been in complementary distribution: *t* appears before suffixes in lexemes containing *r* (or *dr*);¹ *r* appears before suffixes in other lexemes, except in a few which have *t* either as a reflex of Proto Malagasy **-t* or as a result of false analogy.

2) MIGRATIONS OF THE EARLY AUSTRONESIANS, CLASSIFICATION OF AUSTRONESIAN LANGUAGES, PROTO AUSTRONESIAN PHONOLOGY. In order to arrive at a phonological history of Malagasy, Mahdi starts out with a delineation of the dissemination and interrelationship of the Austronesian languages. The early Austronesians, says Mahdi, must have left their original homeland on the south-east coast of China along different routes. First a group of East Austronesians left the homeland for Taiwan and then proceeded to the Philippines. From there they dispersed in several directions: Oceania, the Moluccas, Sulawesi and western Indonesia. Outside Oceania and the Moluccas, East Austronesian languages were lost, except for Enggano, spoken on the island of the same name off Sumatra's west coast.

The other Austronesians, or West Austronesians, left the homeland at a much later stage. Some West Austronesians sailed from the south-east coast of China to Taiwan, and from there to the Philippines, Sulawesi and Borneo. Others sailed down along the Chinese coast to Indo-China and further on to Borneo (Sarawak), from where they went inland or travelled on to Sabah, to the Philippines (Luzon), to Sulawesi or further east. Especially in the Philippines and Sulawesi, there was a mixing of West Austronesians who had arrived via these two routes.

Consequently, Mahdi divides the Austronesian languages into an eastern and a western branch. The eastern branch contains the languages of the Moluccas, the Lesser Sundas and Oceania (excluding Chamorro and Palauan but including Enggano and Lovaia² spoken in East Timor). The western branch contains all other Austronesian languages, including the Taiwanese languages, some of which form a primary offshoot (Proto Formosan). The languages not originating from Proto Formosan are termed Hesperonesian, and they are in turn divided into East Hesperonesian (containing Chamorro, Palauan and some of the languages of Sulawesi and the Philippines) and West Hesperonesian (with a Sumatra-Java branch and a Borneo branch).

¹Historically, **r* and **dr* were allophones.

²Enggano and Lovaia form a primary subgroup within East Austronesian called 'Hartanic' by Mahdi. This term is based on the word for 'human being' in these languages.

The Sumatra-Java branch consists of what Mahdi calls the 'Urangic'¹ languages (Chamic, Achinese, Madurese, Javanese, Sundanese, Malay, Kerinci, Balinese and Rejang), Paleo-Sumatran languages (Batak, Simalur and Lampung) and Sasak. Nias and Mentawai were first included in East Hesperonesian, but in the supplement of his book Mahdi agrees with Nothofer (1986) that these languages together with Simalur and Sichule form a subdivision within the Proto Sumatran group. The Borneo branch consists of a Barito group, a Kayanic group and a North Sarawak group.

Mahdi remarks that this classification is provisional and not yet based on strong arguments: it is an overall impression drawn from linguistic and extra-linguistic factors (pp. 57, 347).

For the phonology of Proto Austronesian, Mahdi eliminates **r*, **z*, **c* and **T*, reduces the number of 'laryngeals' to three (viz. **S*, **q* and **H*), and reduces **w* and **y* to allophones of **u* and **i* respectively. **d* and **D* are redefined, and so are **Z* and **p* (which also occur in word-final position). The Proto Austronesian phoneme inventory which the author thus reconstructs contains the following members: **a*, **ə*, **i*, **u*, **B* (cf. Prentice 1974; Nothofer 1975), **n*, **l*, **d*, **D*, **Z*, **t*, **k*, **m*, **ŋ*, **p*, **ʔ* and, with preglottalised articulation, **b* (Mahdi supplement p.407), **C*, **j*, **q*, **R*, **L* (Tsuchida 1976), **N* and **ŋ* (occurring only in **CuqelaN* 'bone'). The reinterpretation of **w* and **y* as high vowels strongly affects the structure of the (basically disyllabic) Proto Austronesian morph. Special attention is paid to cognate sets with a problematic penultimate high vowel, e.g. Malay *hiduŋ*, Malagasy *uruna* 'nose'; Malay *tidur*, Javanese *туру*, Malagasy *ma-turi* 'sleep'; Malay *ekor* (with vowel-lowering), Old Javanese *ikū*, Maanyan *ukuy* 'tail'. Proto Austronesian etyma on the basis of these forms, usually reconstructed as **q[ui]juŋ*, **[tC](ui)DuR* and **[ui]kuR* respectively, are now reconstructed as **(qi-)[S]əjuŋ*, **[tC]ə-SiDuR* and **(i-)[ə]kuR* respectively. Concerning the latter reconstructions, the different vowels found in their reflexes in present-day Austronesian languages are accounted for either by loss of **ə* or by loss of **i* with assimilation of **ə* to the following **u*.

3) CLASSIFICATION AND PHONOLOGICAL HISTORY OF BARITO LANGUAGES. In Chapter 3 Mahdi traces the phonological changes from Proto Austronesian via Proto Barito, Proto East Barito and Proto South-East Barito, to Malagasy. (A résumé of these changes is given in the table below.) Mahdi recalculates Hudson's (1967) lexicostatistical East Barito classification. He arrives at a different classification of the East Barito languages, with Malagasy as a separate South-East Barito branch on an equal distance to the other members of the South-East Barito subgroup.² This can be seen from a comparison of Figures 2 and 4 below. His classification of Malagasy dialects is based on lexicostatistical data collected by Vérin, Kottak and Gorlin (1969) and does not differ significantly from theirs.

¹A term based on the word for 'human being' in the languages pertaining to this group.

²It should be recalled that Dahl (1977:125) already pointed out that Malagasy is closest to the South-East Barito languages as a group, rather than to Maanyan in particular.

TABLE 1: THE SOUND CHANGES FROM PROTO AUSTRONESIAN TO MALAGASY (MERINA)

Proto Austronesian	Proto Barito	Proto East Barito	Proto South-East Barito	Proto Malagasy	Malagasy
<i>a</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>a</i>
<i>-a[S/H/?]#</i>	<i>ə</i>	<i>ə</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>-y</i>
<i>ə</i>	<i>ə</i>	<i>ə</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>e; i</i> in last syllable
<i>i</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>i</i>
<i>iV-</i> , <i>-ViV-</i> }	<i>i</i>	<i>ø</i>	<i>ø</i>	<i>ø</i>	<i>ø</i>
<i>-ai</i>	<i>-ay</i>	<i>-ɛy</i>	<i>-ɛy</i>	<i>-ey</i>	<i>-y/ez/</i> ^(a)
<i>-aqi</i>	<i>-aʔi</i>	<i>-aʔi</i>	<i>-aʔi</i>	<i>-ai</i>	<i>-ay</i>
<i>-əi</i>	<i>-əy</i> }	<i>-ɛy</i>	<i>-ɛy</i>	<i>-ey</i>	<i>-y/ez/</i> ^(a)
<i>-əHi</i>	<i>-əi</i> }				
<i>u</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>u</i>
<i>uV-</i> , <i>-VuV</i> }	<i>u</i>	<i>w</i>	<i>w</i>	<i>w</i>	<i>v</i>
<i>-au</i>	<i>-aw</i>	<i>-aw</i>	<i>-aw</i> }	<i>-uw</i>	<i>-u/uv/</i> ^(a)
<i>-əuq</i>	<i>-əuʔ</i>	<i>ʔ</i>	<i>ʔ</i> }		
<i>b/B</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>w</i>	<i>w (b)</i>	<i>v (b)</i>
<i>C/t/T</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>t, -C</i> ^(b)	<i>t, ts (/_i), -tra</i> ^(c)
<i>g</i>	<i>g</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>h, -k</i>	<i>h, -ka</i>
<i>k</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>h, -k</i>	<i>h, -ka</i>
<i>p</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>f</i>
<i>R</i>	<i>R</i>	<i>y</i>	<i>ø, -y</i>	<i>ø, -y</i>	<i>ø, -y</i>
<i>S/H/?</i>	<i>ø</i>	<i>ø</i>	<i>ø</i>	<i>ø</i>	<i>ø</i>
<i>s</i>	<i>s</i>			<i>s, h</i>	<i>s</i> ^(d) , <i>ø</i>
<i>q</i>	<i>ʔ</i>	<i>ʔ</i>	<i>ʔ</i>	<i>ø</i>	<i>ø</i>
<i>m</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>m</i>
<i>n/N</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>n</i>
<i>ɲ/N</i>	<i>ɲ</i>	<i>ɲ</i>	<i>ɲ</i>	<i>ɲ</i>	<i>n</i>
<i>ɲ</i>	<i>ɲ</i>	<i>ɲ</i>	<i>ɲ</i>	<i>ɲ</i>	<i>n</i>
<i>l/L</i>	<i>l</i>	<i>l</i>	<i>l</i>	<i>l</i>	<i>l, d (/_i)</i>
<i>-l/-L</i>	<i>-l</i>	<i>ʔ</i>	<i>-n</i>	<i>-ø, -n</i>	<i>-ø, -na</i>
<i>d/D/j</i>	<i>D</i> }	<i>D</i>	<i>r-, -r-, -t</i>	<i>r-, -r-, -C</i>	<i>r-, -r-, -tra</i> ^(c)
<i>z</i>	<i>z</i> }				

(a) */ez/* and */uv/* appear on morpheme boundaries.

(b) Proto Malagasy **-C* 'was probably a preglottalised or implosive voiceless palatal stop' (Mahdi p.175).

(c) *ts* preceding *i* reflects Proto Austronesian **t, *T* or **C*; *tr* preceding final *ā* reflects Proto Austronesian **-t, *-C, *-j* or **-d*. When occurring in other positions, *tr* and *ts* are not inherited.

(d) *s* usually occurs in loanwords, but in a few cases it seems to reflect Proto Austronesian **s*.

4) THE EXTERNAL LINGUISTIC INFLUENCES CAUSING MALAGASY WORD-FINAL CHANGES. Dahl (1954, 1988) attributes the reduction of final consonants and the acquisition of final voiceless vowels in Malagasy to a substratum from the Swahili-like dialects of the Comoros. According to Mahdi, however, they are the result of an East Austronesian substratum, as the changes in word-final position in Malagasy agree much more closely with those in East Austronesian languages than with those in Bantu languages. He contends that this East Austronesian substratum could have affected Malagasy in two possible ways. One way is through direct contact, East Austronesians settled mainly in the Pacific Ocean but they may also have gone in a westerly direction, without leaving much trace of their migration. The dispersion of certain east Asian plants in large parts of Africa stems from an earlier date than the colonisation of Madagascar and the development of Malagasy. These plants could have been introduced by East Austronesians, whose language and culture was lost after the arrival of South-East Barito-speaking West Austronesians in East Africa, but whose language left a substratum causing the reduction of final consonants.

Another possibility is that this substratum entered Malagasy indirectly, that is, as the working of an areal feature which originated in Sulawesi, and which was in turn the result of an East Austronesian substratum in these regions. The Malagasy reduction of final consonants bears much resemblance to the history of word-final consonants in South Sulawesi languages as traced by Mills (1975). According to Mills, original final stops in South Sulawesi languages first acquired a preglottalised and unreleased pronunciation, and were later reduced to glottal stops. The first stop to undergo this chain of changes was **-p*, followed by **-t*, and finally **-k*. In an intermediate stage **-p* had already become *+-ʔ*, but **-t* still had a preglottalised and unreleased pronunciation (used by an older generation) along with a realisation reduced to glottal stop (used by a younger generation). In this stage, glottal stops originating from **-p* were sometimes confused with glottal stops still alternating with *+-ʔt*, which caused some erroneous back-formations in suffixed forms. (In suffixed forms, **-p*, **-t* and **-k* were maintained as intervocalic consonants.) The Proto South Sulawesi nasals (**-m*, **-n*, **-ŋ*) were preglottalised before they subsequently merged to *-ŋ*.

In Malagasy, the Proto South-East Barito final consonants underwent a number of developments which are to a certain extent parallel to those in the South Sulawesi languages. According to Mahdi, all final consonants underwent temporary preglottalisation. In the end, the final nasals of most (but not all) Malagasy dialects merged as *+-ŋ*, which yielded Merina *-n*, Sakalava *-ŋ*. Proto South-East Barito **-p* and **-k* first became Proto Malagasy *+-ʔp* and *+-ʔk*, and then merged in *+-ʔK*, which finally became *+-K*. (*K* is the symbol for a historical (final) **k* which remained *k* in modern Malagasy.) Proto South-East Barito **-t* did not at first participate in this change, but at the stage where **-p* and **-k* had become *+-ʔK*, **-t* had two realisations which were in free variation: *+-ʔt* and *+-ʔK*. In this stage, some forms with invariable *+-ʔK* originating from **-p* and **-k* became confused with *+-ʔK* alternating with *+-ʔt*. In a following stage *+-ʔt* and its alternant *+-ʔK* became palatalised (*+-yʔt*) and finally resulted in *-tr(a)* (or its dialectal variants). Proto Austronesian **-s*, which according to Mahdi only occurred in loanwords, was preglottalised at a certain stage before being lost in word-final position, and at this stage it must sometimes have been confused with *+-ʔt*. Borrowed *+-r* was preglottalised and acquired a retroflex realisation before it merged with **-t* as Mahdi's *+-C*. Proto South-East Barito **-ay* (from Proto Austronesian **-aR* or in loanwords) became *+-aʔy* > *+-ayʔ* > *+-eʔ* > *+-e*, and Proto South-East Barito **-aw* became *+-aʔw* > *+-owʔ* > *+-uʔ* > *+-u* (before they underwent separate realisations in the different dialects).

In the *supplement*, Mahdi treats the following topics. On the basis of the diversity and distribution of terms for metals, rice, water-buffalo, door and various types of houses, he finds additional support for his theory on Austronesian migrations and on the classification of Austronesian languages. He discusses some problems related to the random application of the argument of exclusively shared innovations, and he concludes that lexicostatistics is a more reliable tool in historical linguistics. He re-evaluates some of the Proto Austronesian phonemes.

Mahdi sees some possible new evidence for the validity of his estimated date of the Malagasy migration to East Africa in Frobenius' (1931) theory that the East African technique of iron working (in German 'simply' termed *kolbengebläseverwendenden Eisenmetallurgie*) is of Indonesian origin. Carbon dating of the Mabveni site pertaining to the Gokomere culture (the oldest iron-using culture in Zimbabwe) points to a date 1770 ± 120 years BP¹ at the latest (Robinson 1966). According to Mahdi, this correlates well with the estimated date for the first dialect-split in Malagasy (1939 ± 227 BP), which must have followed shortly after the arrival of the first South-East Barito speakers in East Africa.

5. CRITICISM OF MAHDI'S BOOK

Mahdi's morphophonological approach leads to a coherent and systematic description of Malagasy, and represents a great improvement on the existing descriptions. He has found an elegant solution to the problem of irregular stress patterns. He is also able to lay bare the historical conditions which caused the emergence of irregular consonants before affixes. His introduction of morphophonemes is a serious effort to establish a system of regular derivations. It nevertheless leaves us with a small category of irregular 'quasi-suppletive' derivations; it is hard to tell what the trade-off will be between a simple morphological analysis with a great number of exceptions, and a more complicated model along morphophonological lines which has the advantage of leaving only a handful of exceptions.

Mahdi's classification of Austronesian languages is quite unconventional. He prefers an east-west division to the Taiwanese-Malayo-Polynesian one found in most other classifications (except for that of Dyen 1965). The phonological history of Austronesian languages, however, seems to favour a primary split-off of Taiwanese languages followed only later by a split-off of Mahdi's East Austronesian languages (which roughly coincide with Blust's (1988:16) Central-Eastern Malayo-Polynesian languages. Mahdi's primary east-west division is probably a consequence of his view that East Austronesians left the homeland first and travelled to the Philippines, Indonesia and Oceania, providing the conditions for an East Austronesian substratum in the West Austronesian area. Both this view and his idea of two West Austronesian migration routes seem to reconcile the pre-war idea of a migration route via Indo-China to Indonesia and further east with the nowadays more fashionable idea of an overseas route from the south-east China coast to Taiwan and further to the Philippines, Indonesia and the Pacific.² As far as the 'Indochinese' route is concerned, it can also be argued that the migration of speakers of Austronesian to mainland Southeast Asia was a relatively late one which started out from the Indonesian islands (more particularly, from West Borneo; cf. Adelaar 1985:239; Bellwood 1985:124).

¹BP = Before Present, which is meant to be 1950.

²In Mahdi's interpretation, however, the migration via Indo-China was an overseas one (along the Indo-Chinese coast) and not overland.

The provisional and impressionistic character of Mahdi's classification is not really warranted in view of the number of already existing (often better argued) classifications and in view of the available language data that he could have used to check some of his rather unusual subgroupings. These subgroupings are sometimes unconvincing. For example, Mahdi places Rejang in his group of Urangic languages, while its phonological and morphological history sets it quite apart from the other languages of this group.¹ The reader would also be interested to know the arguments for giving Sasak an independent position vis-à-vis the Urangic languages² and for classifying Lampung with Paleo-Sumatran.³ The classification of Enggano and Lovaia in the high order Hartanic group is so unconventional a hypothesis that it should have been supported with more than the casual formulation of one common phonological retention in a footnote. There is no evidence for dividing the Bornean languages into Kayan-Punan, Barito languages and North Sarawak languages. Hudson (1978) divides the Bornean languages into ten independent subgroups. In his classification the languages of the Barito area belong to three different subgroups: East Barito, West Barito and Barito-Mahakam. Embaloh, Taman and Kalis are closely related to the South Sulawesi languages (von Kessel 1850:167; Hudson 1978:20).⁴

Mahdi's reconstruction of Proto Austronesian phonology also differs in many respects from other Proto Austronesian phonologies. His elimination of a number of laryngeals and other doubtful phonemes is refreshing. On the other hand, it is hard to see why he should introduce **N* which appears only in the etymon **CuqəlaN* 'bone'. His Proto Austronesian palatal consonants in word-final position have to be rejected. Mahdi reconstructs **-ŋ* only once, in **/Ct/əɭəŋ* 'swallow', by combining Dempwolff's (1938) Proto Austronesian **təɭəŋ* 'swallow' with Proto Oceanic **topol* 'swallow' (Blust 1978) and Kiput (Borneo) *tʊpən* 'swallow', in the last two cases with an alleged metathesis (Proto Austronesian **ə* became Proto Oceanic **o*; Kiput *-n* comes from Proto Austronesian **/lɭŋN/*). He argues that 'it seems unusual to reconstruct **ŋ* in final position, but this sound occurs in final position in several Indo-Chinese languages (including Khmer), and since a proto-language is just another language, nothing pertaining to language can be unnatural to it' (p.416). Mahdi's **ŋ* should be based on evidence from within the Austronesian language family, where such evidence is hard to find. The combination of **/Ct/əɭəŋ*, **topol* and *tʊpən* is rather far-fetched evidence for **ŋ*. Mahdi reconstructs **-Z* for Dempwolff's **-d*, but hardly any Austronesian daughter language has a palatal reflex for this proto-phoneme.

Mahdi's interpretation of **w* and **y* as allophones of high vowels could be right, but even so one should emphasise their distinct phonetic quality by maintaining different symbols for them. To treat them as identical to **i* and **u* seriously affects the otherwise disyllabic canonical shape of most (Proto) Austronesian morphemes.⁵

Mahdi's introduction of Proto Austronesian preglottalised consonants is based on alleged earlier contact (if not common inheritance) between Austronesian and Austro-Asiatic, Daic and Miao-Yao. Here again, he adduces his main evidence from outside the Austronesian language family.

¹cf. Blust (1984:423), and also Aichele's presentation of sound changes in Rejang (Aichele 1984).

²Sasak is usually considered to be closely related to Balinese; see among others Esser (1939).

³Although Mahdi does not refer to van der Tuuk (1872) explicitly, his classification of Lampung must be based on this source. Mahdi does not discuss other classifications of Lampung, which are admittedly very preliminary. Dyen (1965) on the basis of lexicostatistics classifies it as an independent branch of the Javo-Sumatran hesion (the other branches being Sundanese, Javanese and the Malayic hesion). Nothofer (1985:298), on the basis of a number of exclusively shared lexical innovations, classified it in a subgroup including Malay, Iban, Madurese and possibly Sundanese, but in Nothofer (1988:58) he retracts this.

⁴See Adelaar (in press b) for a more detailed argumentation for this subgrouping hypothesis.

⁵See also Dahl (1981) for a discussion between Dahl and Blust on this matter.

The question with most evaluations of Proto Austronesian phonology over the last three decades is not so much whether they are right or wrong, but rather whether the matter has been approached from the right angle. We have in fact come to the limit of what we are able to discover about Proto Austronesian phonology, and it is doubtful whether any significant progress can be made before more insight is gained into the more recent history of the Austronesian languages (including insight into lower-order reconstructions, lower-order classifications and the effects of borrowing).¹

Both Simon and Mahdi reinterpret Hudson's (1967) data and try to improve his classification of the East Barito languages (cf. Figures 2-4) but they reach different conclusions. Simon, who believes that the South-East Barito languages once formed a dialect chain, considers Paku as a South-East Barito language with influence from Central-East Barito, while Mahdi sees it as an isolated member within the Central-East and South-East Barito group which has undergone much influence from South-East Barito (Maanyan). Here again, one feels that classification efforts remain futile if based only on Hudson's material. Neither author considers Hudson's (1978:22) later classification separating East Barito, West Barito and Tunjung with Ampanang into three independent subgroups.

Mahdi's treatment of the phonological changes that have taken place between Proto Austronesian and Malagasy (summarised in the table in section 3) is accurate and detailed. I have only a few remarks to add.

Proto Austronesian **R* became Malagasy *ø* or *z* and Mahdi shows that, in the basic lexicon, the ratio of the number of *ø* reflexes to other reflexes increases. It became *ø* in four cases out of 200, and it became *z* or *s* in only two cases; one of which is *vesatra* 'heavy', allegedly derived from Proto Austronesian **bəRqa(tC)* 'heavy'. But there are very few Malagasy forms showing *s* for **R*, and *vesatra* is a loanword deriving from Malay *bəsar* 'big, great'.² With the elimination of *vesatra* as a reflex of **bəRqa(tC)*, Mahdi's regular change of **R* to Malagasy *ø* stands out even more clearly.

According to Mahdi, Proto Austronesian **d*, **D* and **j* merged into Proto Barito **D*. A more accurate reconstruction would be that Proto Austronesian **d*, **D* and **j* became Proto Barito **D*-, **-r*- and **-D*-, as all Barito languages reflect *r* for Mahdi's **-D*-. Proto Barito **D* and **Z* merge as *r* in South-East Barito languages. Mahdi sees regressive assimilation of **D/*Z* to *l* in forms like Malagasy *lela* 'tongue', *lalana* 'road, way' and *lalina* 'deep' (corresponding to Maanyan *lela*, *lalan* and *lalem* and reflecting Proto Austronesian **Zilaq*, **Zalan* and **Daləm*). But the actual development was a regular change of **D/*Z* to *+r* followed by regressive assimilation of *+r* to *l* (see Dahl 1951:72).

¹ Mahdi himself is certainly not to blame for the fact that too little work has been done on reconstruction at subgroup levels, as he devotes much serious attention to the study of intermediate stages between Proto Austronesian and present-day Malagasy.

² According to Dempwolff (1938), *vesatra* and *bəsar* are both reflexes of Proto Malayo-Polynesian **bəsar*. In Adelaar (1989:19, n.25) I show that *vesatra* is a Malay loanword.

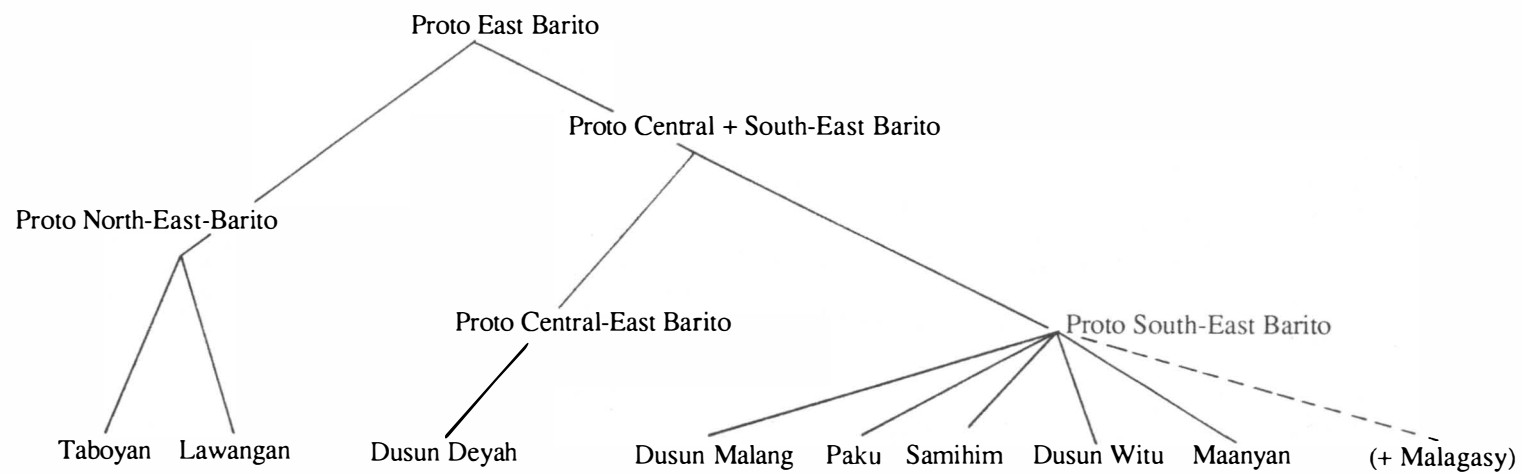
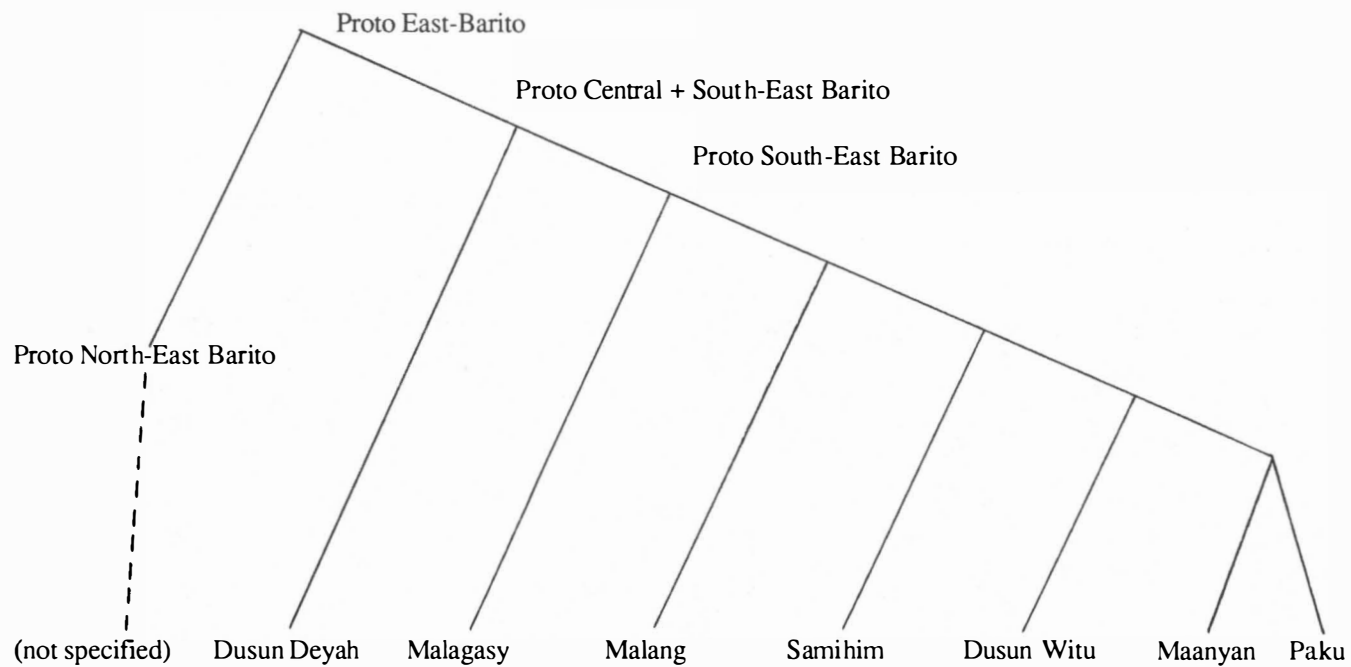


FIGURE 2: HUDSON (1967:34)



N.B. According to Simon, Samihim, Dusun Witu, Maanyan and Paku are members of a dialect chain.

FIGURE 3: SIMON (p.55)

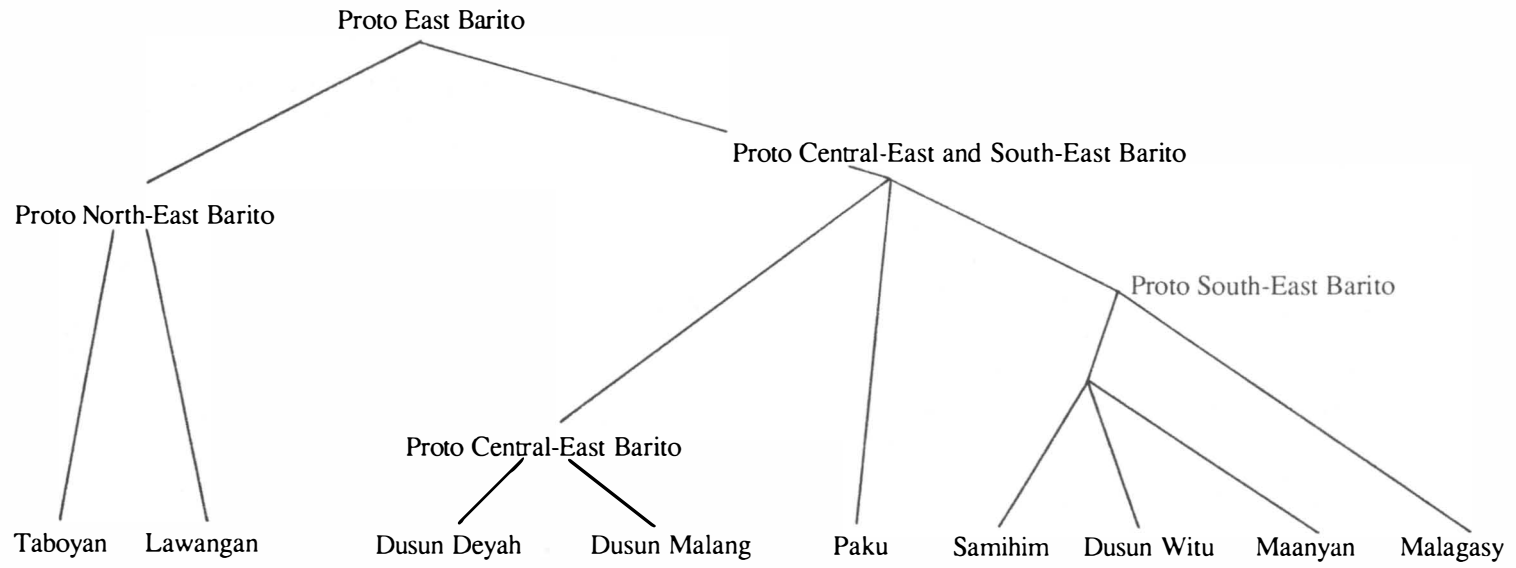


FIGURE 4: MAHDI (p.120-121)

Mahdi presents two alternative explanations for the development of word-final vocalism in Malagasy. His proposal of an East Austronesian substratum is a rather daring hypothesis based on his general idea of East Austronesian wanderings in a south-westerly direction. In a way, it is a variation on the rather persistent theory of Melanesian elements in the Malagasy language (Codrington 1882; Razafintsalama 1928-9; Hébert 1961; Southall 1975). The changes involved are from a general phonological point of view so widespread that it is not necessary to seek to explain them by a substratum theory or as an areal feature emanating from the South Sulawesi languages. Moreover, predominantly or exclusively vocalic endings are common in Bantu languages. Malagasy phonology has much in common with the phonologies of Comoran languages, and influence from the latter must have caused the development of vocalic endings (Dahl 1954; 1988). The Malagasy changes in word-final position are not shared by other South-East Barito languages. They may well resemble the word-final changes in South Sulawesi languages, but they are different.

According to Mills (1975), South Sulawesi final stops were preglottalised, and then merged in the following sequence: $+ʔp > ?$; $+ʔt > ?$; $+ʔk > ?$. For the merger of Malagasy final consonants, there is phonetically no reason to assume preglottalisation as a necessary intermediate stage. The +grave final stops $+p$ and $+k$ merged to $-k(a)$, but (+acute) $+t$ became $-tr(a)$. There are no traces of an alleged palatalisation of $+ʔt$ before it became $-tr(a)$ (such as an expected raising of the preceding vowel, as in the development of $+t$ in Mandar (South Sulawesi) and in Minangkabau). It is likely that the merger of $+t$ and $+r$ had already started on the South-East Barito level (and not only in Malagasy). An indication of this is the co-existence of the Maanyan forms *butIt* 'a few' and *wusi* 'grain'. Both forms reflect Proto Austronesian **butiR* 'grain; cyst, wart' (Wolff 1974:99), but whereas *wusi* is inherited and shows the regular sound-changes from Proto Austronesian to Maanyan,¹ *butIt* must be a loanword deriving from the Malay reflex *butir* 'grain, particle, numeral coefficient for small granular objects...'. The final *r* of the donor language (Malay) became $-t$ in Maanyan.

Mahdi criticises the importance attributed to exclusively shared innovations as a method for determining genetic closeness, because they may be the result of substrata, adstrata and areal features rather than common inheritance, and because the use of too small a set of such innovations leads to random results. Although I appreciate Mahdi's suspicion of exclusively shared innovations, I strongly disagree with his preference for lexicostatistics. This method does not account for the fact that the rate of lexical replacement – whether due to borrowing or to other factors – differs from one language to another. Nor does it provide criteria for determining the nature of similarity between certain lexemes in different languages. Similarity may be due to coincidence, to sound-symbolism or to historical relationship; historical relationship may again be due to borrowing or to common inheritance. For a subgrouping argument, of course, only similarity due to common inheritance is relevant. Lexicostatistics, however, makes indiscriminate use of any similarity, and this method has led to so many scientifically verifiable errors that it cannot be accepted either for language classification or for measuring time depth. To remove the obvious uncertainties involved in this technique requires the acquisition of so much concomitant information on the lexical items in question that the qualitative evidence collected in this way would bypass the use of lexicostatistics. However, Mahdi uses it to determine when the first Malagasy dialect split took place. He correlates the resulting date with the period of the Gokomere culture and its metallurgic practices.

Quite apart from the reliability of the date for a dialect split arrived at by Mahdi, Frobenius' (1931) theory of an Indonesian origin of East African metallurgy is also problematic. Research into the

¹ As a rule, Proto Austronesian **b*, **ti* and **R* became Maanyan *w*, *si* and \emptyset respectively.

development of metal-working in Southeast Asia is not very well advanced, and there is little reason to assume a different situation for East Africa. The origin and nature of early Southeast Asian metallurgy is vague. Frobenius is an exponent of the diffusionistic approach to culture which was so typical of his time. It requires renewed and more comprehensive research along structural lines in order to be acceptable.

Notwithstanding my criticisms, I consider Mahdi's book a major contribution to Austronesian and Malagasy comparative linguistics. It covers a wide range of topics, and the author is not afraid to take a stand on many salient issues concerning Austronesian linguistics. He also tries to relate these to prehistorical and archeological data. One does not have to agree with Mahdi in order to appreciate the erudition and the originality with which his book is written. His conclusions are sometimes speculative and controversial, but his work is a serious endeavour to solve a number of problems which have hitherto been underestimated in Austronesian comparative linguistics. His ideas will certainly induce the reader to re-evaluate a number of basic assumptions underlying the study of the history of Austronesian languages.

6. CONCLUDING REMARKS

Considering the present state of information on the history of the Malagasy people and language, there are no grounds for making hypotheses about South Sulawesi, East Austronesian or Madurese influences, substrata or adstrata. Malay, Javanese and some local Barito languages are the only Austronesian languages that can be shown to have had an important influence on early Malagasy (Dahl 1977; Adelaar 1989). (The fact that Malagasy borrowed much from these languages is recognised by both Simon and Mahdi.) In order to obtain more insight into the roots of Malagasy and the influences it has undergone, fieldwork on both sides of the Indian Ocean is the most urgent requirement. More grammatical, lexical and dialect geographical data should be collected on the various South-East Barito languages and on the Malagasy dialects. Moreover, the influence of African languages should be studied, including the influence from Makua (the language of an area in Mozambique from which many slaves were taken to Madagascar). It may also have to include influence from Cushitic and Khoisan languages. In addition, Malagasy societies should be compared with traditional Indonesian societies, not only in the Barito area but elsewhere as well. What should be compared are societies as whole complexes, that is to say, societies as transformations of the same basic Austronesian pattern, and not just isolated aspects of social life. If these requirements are not met, further research will become pointless.

The idea that Malagasy grew out of a pidgin is untenable, unless, of course, one abandons the conventional definitions of pidgins and creoles and redefines pidginisation in a way which includes more ordinary manifestations of contact-induced language change. In one respect, however, I believe that the available data allow us to frame a hypothesis (be it very tentative and speculative) as regards the social setting in which the migration(s) took place. The hypothesis runs as follows. The Malays played a prominent maritime role in Southeast Asian history. As early as the time of Srivijaya (7th to 13th century AD) they were active seafarers who established contacts with many other Indonesian peoples to the east and with peoples living on the Indian Ocean coasts to the west. They founded the

city of Banjarmasin¹ on the South Kalimantan coast, in a location bordering on the South-East Barito area. Their language had already had an impact on the South-East Barito languages before the early Malagasy left South Kalimantan (Adelaar 1989). Malay loanwords in Malagasy include a fair number of maritime terms. They also include, among other things, terms for parts of the body and terms referring to elements of material culture (such as writing and metallurgy). All Malagasy words of Sanskrit origin must have been borrowed indirectly via Malay and Javanese, since Malagasy has almost no Sanskrit words not found in these two languages.² In view of the considerable temporal and geographical separation of Malagasy from the other Indonesian languages, Malay and Javanese influence must have been considerable at the time of the migration. There is, on the other hand, hardly any evidence of Malagasy influence on Malay or Javanese.³ On the western side, Malays established contacts with Sri Lanka, where they probably left a settlement in the 13th century (Coedès 1964:336).

In the light of the mercantile and maritime activities of the Malays, it is worthwhile to consider the possibility that it was they – and not South-East Barito speakers – who established contacts with East Africa. The Malays were enterprising and they had a good deal of the expertise and extrovert orientation needed for expeditions to East Africa. On the other hand, the inhabitants of the East Barito area apparently lacked these characteristics, or at least, they lack them now, and there is no trace or indication of a great South-East Barito expansion or maritime past. The Malagasy have not left any trace in Southeast Asia, and today the peoples of the South-East Barito area are dependent on the city of Banjarmasin for contacts with the outside world. There is no reason to suppose that things were fundamentally different in the past.

As a model to integrate all the indications and bits of evidence about the Southeast Asian roots of the Malagasy people, I propose a scenario in which the Malay had established contacts with east Africa and Madagascar, to which they transported South-East Barito speakers as slaves, workers or crew. It is quite possible that not all these slaves, workers or crew were from the South-East Barito area. South-East Barito speakers may have formed a majority among them, or, more likely, they may have been the first group to be transplanted to Madagascar. As such, they may have created a nuclear community, or rather, several nuclear communities, which were able gradually to assimilate large numbers of individuals from other Indonesian (and East African) ethnic groups. In this way, the communities may have taken on foreign cultural traits without losing their original language. They were initially ruled by an ethnically and linguistically Malay caste, but at some point in time this caste lost its own identity and merged with the rest of early Malagasy society. The migrations to Madagascar must have taken place in the Srivijaya period, most probably early on, around the 7th century AD (Adelaar 1989:34).

The above scenario has the attraction of clarifying a number of seemingly contradictory factors. It explains why Malagasy has so many loanwords showing assimilation to the more prominent Malay and Javanese civilisations. It is in agreement with the historical facts about Malay and Javanese hegemony in insular Southeast Asia. It explains why the early Malagasy left no traces in Southeast

¹According to Cense (1928:1) Banjarmasin was founded around AD 1349 at the earliest.

²The only exception is Merina Malagasy *sakarivo*/Sakalava Malagasy *sakaviro* 'ginger' which derives from Sanskrit *çṛṅgavera* (Dahl 1951:98).

³Although the fact that scholars have not found such loanwords may be due to their orientation, and possibly also to the historical linguistic difficulties involved in recognising them.

Asia and why, on the basis of social and material anthropological comparison, the contemporary Malagasy societies cannot be related to South-East Barito societies in the same neat way as can their speech. The latter is apparently the reason why many non-linguists are still reluctant to accept Dahl's claim that Malagasy is a South-East Barito language. The hypothesis fits in well with the fact that Bornean traditional societies – and the societies of the South-East Barito area are no exception to this – are typically those of interior people, and they have very seldom developed maritime sailing skills.¹ The Malagasy terms *olona* 'human being, man, person' and *sakaiza* 'friend' have Malay correspondences with meanings suggesting a different social status of South-East Barito speakers vis-à-vis speakers of Malay. Compare Malay *ulun* 'slave; servant; person; this person, I' (used in Malayo-Javanic tales) and *sakai* 'subject, dependent. Of peoples in contr[ast] to the running race...' (Wilkinson 1959); *sakai* is also used to refer to groups of Orang Asli, the Austro-Asiatic peoples of the interior of the Malay Peninsula.

The above hypothesis admittedly does not solve all the problems. The assumption that the first Malagasy migrants were Malay subordinates may be queried in the light of a few lines on the 7th century Old Malay inscriptions in a language which is seemingly an early form of Malagasy. If it really is a form of Malagasy (a plausible assumption which, however, cannot be ascertained on the basis of the little text provided by the inscriptions) it is unclear why it would have been used there, if it were the language of a group of (in all likelihood illiterate) subordinates. Other hypotheses may fit more easily with such circumstances.² Nevertheless, any hypothesis will have to take into account that the early Malagasy migrants had already been strongly marked by the influence of a 'higher' Hindu-Malay/Hindu-Javanese culture, and that Malay was the donor language of a number of important nautical terms in Malagasy.

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¹ A notable exception are the Ibans, but they developed their seafaring skills in very recent times.

² An alternative hypothesis suggested to me by Hein Steinhauer is that South-East Barito speakers originally living on the Kalimantan coast might have been compelled to migrate to new (unpopulated?) areas through the expansionist pressure of the newly established Hindu-Malay kingdoms of Kutei and Banjarmasin.

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SOME NOTES ON THE ORIGIN OF SRI LANKA MALAY

K.A. ADELAAR

1. INTRODUCTION

Sri Lanka has a minority of Malays. They number about 47,000 and they live mainly in cities. Almost half of them live in Colombo and most others are concentrated in the districts of Gampaha, Hambantota and Kandy (Anne Bichsel pers. comm.).

Little is known about the Sri Lanka Malays. Hussainmiya (1984,1987) wrote a PhD thesis and a monograph on their history, language and literature, but many facets of this ethnic minority remain obscure and still need to be studied. In Bern, Switzerland, Anne Bichsel is preparing an MA thesis about the Sri Lanka Malay community and their language.

The study of Sri Lanka Malay (SLM) may help to clarify some questions on the origin of the first Malays, or rather Indonesians,¹ of Sri Lanka. In the following pages I use linguistic data on SLM to complement Hussainmiya's (1987) findings, and to correct some of his conclusions. I collected these data from two informants during a one week stay in Colombo (5-12 January 1987).² First I give a summary of Hussainmiya's interpretation of the origin of the Sri Lanka Malays and then proceed with a test of this reading against the linguistic data. Finally, I conclude that SLM bears a strong resemblance to Bazaar Malay and to East Indonesian Malay, and that it is probably an offshoot of North Moluccan Malay.

2. HUSSAINMIYA'S FINDINGS ON THE ORIGIN OF THE INDONESIANS OF SRI LANKA

These findings (Hussainmiya 1987) can be summarised as follows:

The first Indonesians to be brought to Sri Lanka by the Dutch came subsequent to the latter's expulsion of the Portuguese power in 1656. These early Indonesians were referred to as 'Easterners' or 'Javanese' by the Dutch, and they can be divided into two broad categories: on the one hand political exiles and other (criminal) deportees, and on the other hand people who served the Dutch in various fields, mostly soldiers, but also some slaves.

¹Only some of the ancestors of the Sri Lanka Malays were ethnically Malay. Generally speaking they were from all over Indonesia and Malaysia, hence my use of the term 'Indonesian' to refer to people from Indonesia and Malaysia who went to Sri Lanka during Dutch and British colonisation. There must have been earlier Malay settlements in Sri Lanka. These had apparently ceased to exist in colonial times (Hussainmiya 1987 Chapter 2) and there is no historical connection with the Sri Lanka Malays referred to in this paper.

²The names of these informants are Mr Br. Dole and Mr Sabreen Noor Jumadeen. My stay in Colombo was made possible by financial support from NWO, the Netherlands Organization for Scientific Research.

Some of the earliest political exiles came from the Moluccas and the Lesser Sunda Islands, but from 1708 on, several Javanese princes were exiled to Sri Lanka as a result of their involvement in the wars of succession which began in the late 17th century. From Dutch documents it appears that the Indonesian aristocrats belonging to this category were mainly from Java, but they also came from Bacan, Sumatra, Macassar, Tidore and Timor.

Throughout the Dutch period there was a steady inflow of Indonesian convicts to Sri Lanka. They came from all ranks of life (no specific information is given on their ethnic background).

The largest group making up the Indonesian population in the Dutch period were the soldiers who served in the Dutch garrison in Sri Lanka. They came from Ambon, Banda, Bali, Java, Madura and from the Buginese and Malay areas. It was not unusual for these soldiers to bring their wives along when they embarked for Sri Lanka.

Most of the slaves sent to Sri Lanka originated from the Moluccas and the Lesser Sundas.

The Dutch used the collective term 'Javanese' to refer to the Indonesians of Sri Lanka, whereas the British, after their take-over in 1795, referred to them as 'Malays'. Hussainmiya explains these different terms of reference from the fact that the Indonesian soldiers in Sri Lanka had a common 'geographical identity'. They were recruited in Batavia, where ethnic groups from all over the Indonesian archipelago used to live in separate neighbourhoods. Consequently, most of these soldiers, who formed the 'nucleus' of the original (Indonesian) population in Sri Lanka, had Batavia as their last residence. This common point of reference, along with the use of a common lingua franca (Batavian Malay, itself "a pidgin language in its origin" (Hussainmiya 1987:154)) and a common religion, gave them a group identity. Most of them were Muslim, and those who were not must have lost their Indonesian identity through integration with other groups. But it is also possible that the ethnic Javanese were the dominant group among the Indonesians in Sri Lanka, and that as a result the whole group was referred to as 'Javanese'. The British referred to the group as 'Malays' on account of the language they used, and this term became the more appropriate one in the 19th century, when many ethnic Malays from the Malay Peninsula¹ were integrated into the Sri Lanka Malay community.

On account of their common religion, the Sri Lanka Malays associated most closely with the Muslim Tamils, or Moors. Although from a cultural point of view they lost many of their traditional customs and practices due to their integration with the Moors, (with whom they have often intermarried), it is to them that the Malays owe the maintenance of their religious identity and possibly even their identity as a separate ethnic group.

3. THE LINGUISTIC DATA

The question now is how these historical data fit in with the linguistic data. It appears that the latter agree with Hussainmiya's (1987) account in-so-far as they reflect the Moluccan Malay, Javanese, Jakartanese (or Batavian) and Tamil components that made up the Sri Lanka Malay community. But they disagree as to Hussainmiya's implication that the basis of SLM was Jakartanese, and they also do not show a strong influence from Javanese as the reflection of a dominant position of the Javanese among the Indonesians in Sri Lanka.

¹There were also some people coming from Java, Madura and North Borneo (see note 2, page 33).

In order to obtain an impression of the position of SLM among the Malay dialects, let us see how SLM differs from Standard Malay (SM) and compare the differences with data from other Malay dialects. The ones that have most in common with SLM appear to be the Moluccan Malay¹ varieties, Baba Malay, Bazaar Malay and Jakartanese. My sources for Baba Malay, Bazaar Malay and Jakartanese, are Pakir (1986), Abdullah Hassan (1969) and Ikranagara (1980) respectively. The sources for Moluccan Malay are Voorhoeve (1983) for North Moluccan Malay as spoken in Ternate, and Collins (1980, 1983) for Ambonese Malay. (I use the term Moluccan Malay when I refer to both North Moluccan Malay and Ambonese Malay.) When other sources (or sources for other dialects) are used, this is indicated in the text. There is hardly any substantial information available on Bazaar Malay, and therefore I also drew Baba Malay into the comparison. In a technical sense Baba Malay is not Bazaar Malay. It is a creole used among some acculturated Chinese communities in Singapore and Malaysia, whereas Bazaar Malay is a pidgin used in interethnic communication in Malaysia, Singapore and Indonesia. But Baba Malay is historically very close to Bazaar Malay (Lim 1988), and it is typologically very similar, so that it complements the scanty Bazaar Malay material.

The following list enumerates the most striking differences between SM and SLM, and it indicates when other Malay dialects show the same phenomena as those observed in SLM. (Notes on the differences follow the list.)

Standard Malay	Sri Lanka Malay	Malay varieties following Sri Lanka Malay
1) *-h > -h	*-h > ø	Moluccan, Bazaar, Baba, Jakartanese
2) ---	retroflex series	(Tamil and Sinhalese influence)
3) ---	(contrastive) vowel length	
4) ---	(contrastive) consonant gemination	
5) -m/-n/-ŋ	ŋ	Moluccan
6) ə	i/u, or ə varying with i/u	
7) retention of most of the inherited morphology	loss of most of the inherited morphology	Moluccan, Bazaar, Baba (Jakartanese: see note)
8) locative preposition + noun phrase	noun phrase + linker + locative postposition	Bazaar
9) noun + determiner	determiner + noun	Moluccan, Bazaar, Baba (Jakartanese: see note)
10) possessed + possessor	possessor + linker + possessed	Moluccan, Bazaar, Baba, elsewhere
11) noun + adjective	adjective + noun	(Tamil and Sinhalese influence)

¹Some East Indonesian Malay varieties, such as Manado Malay, are actually very close to Moluccan Malay, although they are spoken outside the Moluccan area.

12)	prepositions	postpositions	(Tamil and Sinhalese influence)
13)	subject-verb-object	subject-object-verb	(Tamil and Sinhalese influence)
14)	<i>ada</i> denoting existence of a noun	<i>aḍa/ara</i> : progressive aspect of a verb	Moluccan, Bazaar, Baba
15)	---	negators: <i>tər-/tra</i>	Moluccan, Bazaar
16)	full tense-mood-aspect adverbials	full and reduced tense-mood-aspect adverbials	Moluccan, Baba
17)	plural personal pronouns are independent lexemes	plural personal pronouns are historically compound forms with <i>*oraŋ</i>	Moluccan, Bazaar, Baba
18)	---	1st and 2nd personal pronouns borrowed from Hokkien Chinese	Bazaar, Baba, Jakartanese
19)	plural marker <i>-paḍa</i>	---	(Jakartanese: see note)

1)-4) It appears that these differences are not diagnostic for a classification. They occur in all dialects, or, if they do not, they are the result of Tamil and Sinhalese influence.

1) Moluccan Malay, Bazaar Malay, Baba Malay and Jakartanese all lost final **h*, for example:

SM *ləbiḥ*, SLM *libbi*, Moluccan *lebe*, Jakartanese *ləbi* 'more';

SM *pənuh*, SLM *punnu*, Moluccan *pono*, Jakartanese *pənu* 'full';

SM *rumah*, SLM *rūma*, Ambonese *ruma*, Jakartanese *rumè* 'house'.

2) Speakers of SLM often use retroflex *ḍ* and *ṭ*, e.g. *kəṭawi* 'sleep', *ḍḍuk* 'sit; live, stay', *ḍātaŋ* 'come'. I have not been able to determine whether SLM makes a phonemic distinction between the retroflex and dental *d* and *t*. There was quite a variation in the use of retroflexes and dentals among speakers of SLM and even within the speech of individuals, which suggests that SLM is in the process of acquiring a retroflex pronunciation of the *t* and *d* (originally a superdental and an alveolar respectively). This pronunciation is undoubtedly due to Tamil (and Sinhalese?) influence; it is at any rate not inherited from an earlier stage of Malay. Other Malay dialects have no retroflex consonants, and if Proto Austronesian had a retroflex versus a dental series, it must have lost it in a very early stage (Dahl 1981).

3)-4) Although vowel length and consonant gemination are by no means absent in other Malay dialects, they are not phonemic.

SLM has long and short vowels, for example:

SLM	<i>kiccil</i>	SM	<i>kəcil</i>	small
	<i>tumman</i>		<i>təman</i>	friend
	<i>dātaŋ</i>		<i>dataŋ</i>	come
	<i>mālaŋ</i>		<i>malam</i>	night
	<i>ḍḍuk</i>		<i>duduk</i>	live, stay
	<i>ḍiŋiŋ</i>		<i>diŋin</i>	cold

Vowel length is phonemic in at least the following cases:

SLM	<i>pādi</i>	paddy	<i>paḍḍi</i>	steps, stairs
	<i>āti</i>	heart	<i>ati, atti</i>	(future marker)

SLM also has geminated versus simple consonants (see the above examples), but whether gemination is phonemic or not is problematic. Geminated consonants seem always to be preceded by short vowels, and in minimal pairs the geminated versus simple opposition is concomitant with a short versus long opposition with regard to the preceding vowel (e.g. above, *pādi* versus *paḍḍi*). I have not found instances which combine a long vowel with a following geminated consonant, but there are quite a few cases which apparently have neither long vowel nor geminated consonant. Long vowels do not necessarily have to be followed by a single consonant, for example *rūmpuṭ* 'grass' and *rāmbuṭ* 'hair'. Historically, SLM short vowels usually developed from *ə, and SLM geminated consonants usually developed after what was historically *ə, as can be seen in *piggi* 'go; last, past' (< *pərgi), *tubbal* 'thick' (< *təbal), *kiccil* 'small' (< *kəcil) and *tumman* 'friend' (< *təman). However, there is also gemination in *inni* 'this' (< *ini), *ittu* 'that' (< *itu), *appi* 'fire' (< *api), *assap* 'smoke' (< *asəp).

5) Quite often SLM merged final *-m, *-n and *-ŋ, for example:

SLM	<i>tāŋaŋ</i>	SM	<i>taŋan</i>	hand
	<i>cicŋ</i>		<i>cium</i>	kiss
	<i>pɔmpaŋ, prɔmpaŋ</i>		<i>pəɾəmpuan</i>	woman
	<i>tūlaŋ</i>		<i>tulaŋ</i>	bone
	<i>jālaŋ</i>		<i>jalan</i>	road, way

But in some cases, the reverse occurred (as a result of hypercorrection?), for example:

SLM	<i>burūan</i>	bear	SM	<i>bəruaŋ</i>	bear
	<i>mātam</i>	ripe	Javanese, Jakartanese	<i>matəŋ</i>	ripe, cooked

Sometimes there are variant forms, as with *bukkaŋ/bukkan* 'not' and the suffix *-kaŋ/-kam* (see below). Velarisation of final nasals is also seen in Moluccan Malay, e.g. Ambonese *maləŋ* 'night', *baləŋ* 'not yet', *jalaŋ* 'road', North Moluccan Malay *ombəŋ* 'dew', *boləŋ* 'not yet'.¹

6) Corresponding to SM ə, SLM has ø, ə or high vowel.

ø occurs at historical morpheme boundaries of originally trisyllabic derivations, e.g. *spūlu* 'ten', SM *sə-puluh*; *brinti* 'stop', SM *bərhənti*.

It is unclear what the conditions are for the occurrence of ə or a high vowel. A high vowel seems often to be the result of assimilation to a following high vowel, e.g. *libbi* 'more', SM *ləbiḥ*; *kinciŋ* 'urine', SM *kənciŋ*; *punnu* 'full', SM *pənuḥ*; *purrut* 'belly', SM *pərut*; but note *kəriŋ* 'dry' and SM *kəriŋ*, where the original *ə remained ə. In other cases a high vowel seems to be the result of colouring by an adjacent consonant, e.g. *kumbaŋ* 'flower', Malay (as used in Java) *kəmbaŋ*; *kupāla* 'head', SM *kəpala*.

Finally, in fast speech and depending on the individual speaker, ə is often realised as a high vowel, the colour of which is determined by the adjacent consonants, for example:

¹It is also found in Trengganu Malay (a peninsular dialect, see Collins 1980) and in Kerinci Malay (Sumatra, see Steinhauer and Hakim Usman 1978). But from a historical and linguistic point of view, there is no reason to suppose a close relationship between these dialects and SLM.

SLM	<i>əmpat</i> [umpat], [əmpat]	four	SM	<i>əmpat</i>	four
SLM	<i>pəggi</i> , [piggi], [pəggi]	gone, last	SM	<i>pərgi</i>	go
SLM	<i>dəmmam</i> [dummam], [dəmmam]	fever(ish)	SM	<i>dəmam</i>	fever

In Moluccan Malay dialects, the original ə as still found in SM became *a* or assimilated to the high vowel of the following syllable (see Collins (1980:18 +n)) for these phenomena in Ambonese Malay). It has this assimilation in common with SLM, although the outcome is not uniform in the different Moluccan Malay dialects. Compare the following examples:

SM	SLM	North Moluccan	Ambonese	English
<i>kənciŋ</i>	<i>kinciŋ</i>	<i>kinciŋ</i> (de Clercq 1876)	<i>kinciŋ</i>	urine
<i>ləbih</i>	<i>libbi</i>	<i>lebe</i>	<i>lebe</i>	more
<i>pərgi</i>	<i>pəggi</i> , <i>piggi</i> (gone, last)	<i>pigi</i>	<i>pigi</i>	go
<i>kəcil</i>	<i>kiccil</i>	<i>kacil</i>	<i>kacil</i>	small
<i>pənuh</i>	<i>punnu</i>	<i>pono</i>	<i>pono</i>	full
<i>əmbun</i>	<i>umbuŋ</i> (fog)	<i>omboŋ</i>	?	dew
<i>təlor</i>	<i>tullər</i>	?	<i>talor</i>	egg
<i>təbu</i>	<i>tubbu</i>	?	<i>tobu</i>	sugarcane
<i>pərut</i>	<i>purut</i>	<i>poro</i>	<i>poro</i>	belly
<i>kəntut</i>	<i>kuntut</i>	<i>konto</i>	<i>konto</i>	fart
<i>bəlum</i>	--	<i>boloŋ</i>	<i>balon</i>	not yet

In many cases, SLM, North Moluccan Malay and Ambonese Malay have assimilated +ə to the high vowel of the following syllable. However, this assimilation did not apply to the same lexemes in the individual dialects, as can be seen from SLM *pəggi*, *piggi* versus North Moluccan Malay, Ambonese Malay *pigi*; SLM *kiccil* versus Moluccan Malay, *kacil*; SLM *tullər* versus Ambonese Malay *talor*; and North Moluccan Malay *beloŋ* versus Ambonese Malay *balon*. Moreover, in the Moluccan Malay dialects, this assimilation resulted in the lowering of the assimilated vowels, whereas in SLM this lowering did not take place.

Allowing for the differences outlined above, the principle of assimilating +ə to a following high vowel is common to SLM and Moluccan Malay.

7) SLM, like Moluccan Malay and Baba Malay, lost most of the Proto Malayic morphology.¹

SLM has three living affixes:

a transitivity suffix *-kam*:

<i>māra</i>	angry	<i>mārakiŋ</i>	annoy someone
<i>mandi</i>	bathe	<i>mandikiŋ</i>	wash someone
<i>jādi</i>	become	<i>jādikiŋ</i>	grow (plants)
<i>birsi</i>	clean	<i>birsikiŋ</i>	clean something

a suffix *-an* forming deverbal nouns:

<i>pukul</i>	beat, slap	<i>pukulan</i>	a slap, beating
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¹See Adelaar (1985 Chapter 6) for Proto Malayic morphology. Most of this morphology is fairly well maintained in, for example, SM and Banjarese Malay.

a prefix *ka-* deriving ordinal numbers from cardinal ones:

<i>dua</i>	two	<i>kadua</i>	second
<i>tiga</i>	three	<i>katiga</i>	third

Other original affixes became petrified and are now part of the root to which they were attached (cf. *kutumu* 'meet' < +*kA-* + +*təmu*; *pukurjan* 'work' < +*p (r)-* + +*kərja* + +*-an*, etc.).

-kiŋ is a very recent development. It may be derived from *-kən*, a transitivity suffix found in non-standard forms of Malay and Javanese. If it is derived from *-kən*, its vowel remains unexplained. Another explanation is that it is derived from **bikiŋ*, cf. Jakartanese *bikin*, Ambonese *bikiŋ* 'to do, make'.¹ In my material I found only one set of words exemplifying the suffixation of *-an*, but there are many more instances (Bichsel pers. comm.). Jakartanese also lost much of the original morphology, but in a different way and to a lesser extent, to wit the maintenance of nasalisation (the active voice marker in a voice system which was lost in SLM, Moluccan Malay, Bazaar Malay, and Baba Malay). It also maintained *bə-* (forming intransitive verbs), *kə-/tə-* (denoting non-controlled action), *pə(N)-* *-an* (forming deverbal nouns) and *-an* (forming nouns or denoting diffuseness/plurality/reciprocity in verbs). Finally, Jakartanese has *di-* (a passive voice marker) which is not inherited from Proto Malayic, but which nevertheless occurs in many Malay dialects.² (It does not occur in SLM, Moluccan Malay, Bazaar Malay or Baba Malay). It could be argued that Jakartanese lost its original morphology as well, and that some of the present-day Jakartanese morphology was reintroduced under the influence of SM and/or Javanese, Balinese and Sundanese. But with the present state of knowledge of the history of Jakartanese this matter remains unclear.

8) In SLM, locative constructions are formed with *pe* (which is an allegro or shortened form of *pupa*) linking a noun phrase to the locative postposition, whereas in SM these constructions are formed with a locative preposition preceding the noun phrase (and without linker), for example:

SLM	<i>rūma-pe dālaŋ</i> house-its inside inside the house	SM	<i>di dalam rumah</i> at interior house inside the house
	<i>kūre-pe bāwa</i> roof-its (space, side) under under the roof		<i>di bawah atap</i> at under roof under the roof

A similar construction to SLM is made by Bazaar-Malay-speaking Chinese and Tamils (Abdullah Hassan 1969:214) and in Baba Malay (Shellabear 1913:58):

<i>meja pupa atas</i> table its (top, position above) on the table	<i>di-atas meja</i> at-(top) table on the table
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9) Bazaar Malay and Baba Malay agree with SLM in having the determiner preceding the noun in noun phrases. In Jakartanese, the determiner can precede or follow the noun, but the unmarked order is noun + determiner. In Moluccan Malay, the determiner can precede, follow, or both precede and follow, the noun. The unmarked order, however, is to precede the noun.

¹In some non-standard forms of Malay used in Java, *bikin* is used before an adjective in order to form a periphrastic causative construction.

²Jakartanese has also a suffix *-in* forming transitive verbs, but this is a recent innovation (probably a Balinese borrowing, see Ikranagara 1980).

10) In SLM possessive constructions, the possessor precedes the possessed and it is linked to it with the function word *pe* (derived from *pupa* as already noted), for example:

Sri Laṅka-pe te dawɔŋ
 Sri Lanka-*pe* tea leaf
 Sri Lankan tea, tea from Sri Lanka (SM: *daun teh Sri Laṅka*)

se pe bini-ka
 I-*pe* wife-to
 to my wife (SM: *kəpada istəri saya*)

deraŋ deraŋ-pe [drampe] ānak-klāki-na duit na-kasi
 they they-*pe* son-to money past-give
 they gave money to their son

luraŋ-pe [lurampe] kar
 you.PL-*pe* car
 your car (SM: *mobilkalian*)

The so-called '*pupa*-constructions' (= possessor + linker + possessed) are found in Moluccan Malay, Bazaar Malay and Baba Malay. Jakartanese, as a rule, has possessed-possessor constructions, and it does not use a linker.¹ The allegro forms of *pupa* vary from one dialect to another: whereas SLM has *-pe*, Ambonese Malay has *pu* or *puŋ*, North Moluccan Malay has *pe*,² and Baba Malay has *miya* (no allegro form was found for Bazaar Malay).

11)-13) In SLM noun phrases the attribute precedes the head, for example:

SLM *ūdik oraŋ* cf. SM *oraŋ udik*, *oraŋ hulu* 'uneducated person'
 SLM *bārupakiaŋ* cf. SM *pakaian baru* 'new clothes'
 SLM *pām pɔhɔŋ* cf. SM *pohon kelapa* 'palm tree'; also
 SLM *kumbaŋ pɔhɔŋ* 'plant (with flowers)' (lit. 'plant/vegetation with flowers')
 SLM *hattu gīla oraŋ* cf. SM *sə-oraŋ gila* 'a crazy person'
 SLM *Singala prɔmpaŋ* cf. SM *pərəmpuan Sinhala* 'a Sinhalese woman'

SLM uses cliticised postpositions instead of prepositions, for example:

jaŋ pi luar-na!
 don't go outside-to
 don't go outside! (SM *jaŋan (pərgi) kə luar!*)

se-pe bini-ka baŋak kumbaŋ pɔhɔŋ
 I-*pe* wife-to many flower vegetation
 my wife has many plants (lit. 'to my wife (there are) many plants')
 SM *baŋak tanaman buŋa pada isteri saya*)

se-daŋ ada kəpala pinniŋ
 I-to there is headache
 I have a headache (SM *saya pəniŋ kəpala*)

¹Although it may have used *punya*-constructions more frequently (Collins 1983:31 note 11).

²*pe* is also found in Manado Malay (Solea Warouw 1985).

inni prəmpaŋ arə dūduk Kulumbu-ka
 this woman progressive aspect live, stay Colombo-at
 this woman lives in Colombo (SM *pərəmpuan ini tinggal di Kolombo*)

13) SLM is an 'SOV' language: in the basic sentence structure, the Subject comes first, the Verb comes last, and the Object is in between. Other Malay dialects have an 'SVO' construction. Examples:

de attu pəhəŋ mə jadi-kiŋ arə pi
 (s)he = S one vegetation = O will grow = V going to
 she's going to grow plants
 (SM *dia* (S) *mau mənumbuhkan* (V) *tanaman* (O), *dia mau mənanam*)

deraŋ deraŋ-pe ānak-klāki-na duit ŋa-kasi
 they = S their son-to money = O past-give = V
 they gave money to their son
 (SM *məreka* (S) *məmbərikan* (V) *uaŋ* (O) *kəpada anak laki-lakiŋa*)

This complex of syntactically interrelated features presented in 11), 12) and 13) (attribute preceding head, the use of postpositions and an SOV basic sentence pattern), is typical for 'SOV languages' such as Turkish, Japanese and Tamil. It is undoubtedly the result of Tamil influence on SLM, and it sets this language apart from other Malay dialects.¹

It is worth noting that in the Bazaar Malay of Chinese and Tamils in Malaysia, adjectives are linked to following nouns with *puŋa*, e.g. *bəsar puŋa anjiŋ* 'a big dog' (Abdullah Hassan 1969:214). I have not found such constructions in SLM.

14) SLM uses *arə* (which is an allegro form of *aḍa*) as a progressive aspect marker, for example:

se arə mākaŋ
 I progressive aspect eat
 I am eating (SM *saya sedaŋ makan*)

The use of *aḍa* (or a related form) for progressive aspect is also found in Moluccan Malay, Bazaar Malay and Baba Malay.

15) SLM has the negators *tər-* or *t(a)ra*; these are also found in Bazaar Malay and Moluccan Malay.

16) SLM has a set of full and reduced adverbials for tense, mood and aspect. In SM only the full forms are used, for example:

SLM *aḍa* (full), *ara*, *arə* (reduced) progressive aspect (SM *aḍa*, however, is not used for aspectual purposes)

SLM *suda* (full), *so* (reduced) perfective aspect (SM *sudah* perfective aspect)

SLM *anti* (full), *atti*, *ati*, *ti* (reduced) future tense (SM *nanti* 'soon')

SLM *piggi* (full), *pi* (reduced) 'go; past', compare *pi rūma-na!* 'go home!' *piggi wik*, *piggi minggu* 'last week' (SM *pərgi* 'go')

The use of reduced tense-mood-aspect adverbials (alongside full ones) is also observed in Moluccan Malay and in Baba Malay. Ambonese Malay has *su/suda* (perfective aspect), *pi* 'go; go to (do

¹ Although in the Bazaar Malay of Malaysian Tamils, SOV constructions also occur (Abdullah Hassan 1969:213).

something)'. (Note also the SLM full and reduced sets *tər-/tra/tara* 'no(t)' and *pu/puŋ/puŋa* '(linker)'; Ambonese Malay: *tar/tra*, 'no(t)', *pu/puŋ/puŋa* '(linker)').

17) SLM and SM have the following pronouns:

SLM	1SG	<i>go</i> , (polite) <i>se</i>	SM	<i>aku</i> , (polite <i>saya</i>)
	2SG	<i>lu</i>		(<i>əŋkaw</i>), <i>kamu</i>
	3SG	<i>de</i>		<i>dia</i>
	1PL	<i>kitaŋ</i> < * <i>kita</i> + * <i>oraŋ</i>		<i>kita</i> , <i>kami</i>
	2PL	<i>luraŋ</i> < * <i>lu</i> + * <i>oraŋ</i>		(<i>kamu</i>), <i>kalian</i>
	3PL	<i>deraŋ</i> < * <i>dia</i> + * <i>oraŋ</i>		<i>məreka</i> (<i>itu</i>), <i>oraŋ itu</i>

Sometimes the plural marker *-paða* is cliticised to *deraŋ*, e.g. *deraŋ paða* [derampaða], [drampaða] 'they'.

Plural personal pronouns originally formed on the basis of singular personal pronouns + **oraŋ* are found in Moluccan Malay, Baba Malay, and Bazaar Malay, cf. Ambonese Malay *kita oraŋ*, (allegro) *katoŋ* 'we' < **kita* **oraŋ*; *dia oraŋ*, (allegro) *doŋ* 'they' < **dia* **oraŋ*; Baba *lu-oraŋ* 'you (plural)', *dia-oraŋ* 'they'. Jakartanese has no series of plural personal pronouns: it has *guè* (or *kitè*) '(1st person)', *lu* '(2nd person)' and *diè* '(3rd person)' and the plural can be expressed by putting *pada* before the predicate.

18) *go* 'I' and *lu* 'you (sg.)' are borrowed from Hokkien Chinese, which is also the case with Jakartanese *guè* and *lu*, and with Bazaar Malay, Baba Malay *gua*, *lu* (same meanings).

19) Jakartanese has *pada* preceding the predicate and indicating plurality of subject. The syntactically different SLM *-paða* must be borrowed from Jakartanese, which in turn probably borrowed it from Javanese.

In summary, the features which are possible criteria for a classification of SLM among the other Malay dialects are the ones numbered 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, and 19. Eight of these features are shared with Moluccan Malay (5, 6, 7, 9, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18) and nine with Bazaar Malay/Baba Malay (7, 8, 9, 10, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18). Jakartanese shares only two features (18, 19), with the possibility of a third one (9). 18 and 19 are both lexical similarities with a limited structural impact. This suggests that SLM has a stronger affinity with Moluccan Malay and with Bazaar Malay/Baba Malay than with Jakartanese. But it is not easy to determine the exact position of SLM vis-à-vis Moluccan Malay and Bazaar Malay/Baba Malay, nor is it, for that matter, clear what the exact connections are between Moluccan Malay and Bazaar Malay/Baba Malay, although it is obvious that they are historically closely related. Evidently, not all of the above features are of equal weight. For instance, in addition to the historical evidence for a fair representation of Moluccans among the early Indonesians in Sri Lanka, the linguistic phenomena of neutralisation of final nasals and the allegro form of *pupa* (*pe*) are strong qualitative evidence for a subclassification of SLM with (the North Moluccan variant of) Moluccan Malay. But then again, there are certain features common to Moluccan Malay dialects which are not found in SLM, such as the loss on a large scale of final stops in lexemes belonging to the inherited vocabulary (e.g. Moluccan Malay *ana*, SLM, SM *anak* 'child'; Moluccan Malay *ampa*, SLM *umpat*, *əmpat*, SM *əmpat* 'four'), the frequent change of inherited *ə* to *a* (e.g. Moluccan Malay *ampa* 'four'; Moluccan Malay *anam*, SLM *ənnam*, SM *ənam* 'six'; Ambonese Malay *kacil*, SLM *kiccil*, SM *kəcil* 'small'), and the use of a prefix *baku-* denoting reciprocity or togetherness in performing an action. Some of these may be recent developments, postdating the migration of Indonesians to Sri Lanka, but there is no way to establish their chronology.

4. CONCLUSION

SLM seems to be related to Moluccan Malay and to Bazaar Malay/Baba Malay. Historically it seems to be closest to North Moluccan Malay (on account of the shared innovations of neutralisation of final nasals, assimilation of schwa to a following high vowel, and the allegro form *-pe* of *pupa*). However, it is difficult to make an accurate subdivision of SLM unless more data become available on the nature, the history, and the interrelationship of the various forms of Malay which originated through contact with non-Malays.¹

SLM clearly underwent lexical influence from Jakartanese (and hence also some from Javanese), but the agreements with this dialect are much less structural than with Moluccan Malay and Bazaar Malay/Baba Malay. It is possible that Jakartanese was originally much more similar to Moluccan Malay and to Bazaar/Baba Malay, and that the present lack of structural similarities between Jakartanese and SLM are due to recent contact-induced changes in Jakartanese. But with the present lack of knowledge of the linguistic history of Jakartanese it is not warranted to make this assumption.

One factor which remains to be studied regarding the history of SLM is the linguistic impact of the Malays and Indonesians² who were brought in by the British in the 19th century. It is to be expected that they had some extra influence on the history and preservation of SLM.

SLM underwent strong syntactic influence from Tamil (and Sinhalese?). The result is a number of typological characteristics (attribute preceding head, postpositions, SVO constructions) which make SLM difficult – if not impossible – to understand for speakers of other Malay dialects. For this reason SLM may be considered a language in its own right, in spite of its rather conservative basic vocabulary.

WORD LIST

above	<i>atas</i>	below	<i>bāwa</i>
all	<i>samma</i>	bicycle	<i>baysikal</i>
and/with	-- <i>de</i> -- <i>de</i>	big	<i>bæssar</i> , <i>bussar</i>
angry	<i>māra</i>	bird	<i>būruṅ</i>
annoy	<i>mārakiṅ</i>	bite	<i>gīgīt</i>
ash	<i>ābu</i>	black	<i>ītam</i>
at	<i>-ka</i>	blood	<i>dāra</i>
bad, evil	<i>jāhat</i> (also 'severe')	body hair	<i>rāmbut</i>
beard	<i>jēṅgət</i>	bone	<i>tūlaṅ</i>
be afraid	<i>tākut</i>	branch	<i>taṅke</i>
belly	<i>pur(r)ut</i>	breast	<i>tete</i> (also <i>sūsu</i>)

¹Lim (1988) discusses the origin of Baba Malay and Bazaar Malay. According to her, Baba Malay and Bazaar Malay both developed from a pre-pidgin continuum created in the 17th century by Chinese men who took Malay wives but maintained their ethnicity. The pre-pidgin continuum they used developed into the mother tongue of their children as Baba Malay, and it developed into a pidgin used in inter-ethnic contact in general as Bazaar Malay. Lim traces most syntactic peculiarities of Baba Malay and Bazaar Malay to Hokkien Chinese. But many of these syntactic peculiarities are also shared with other Malay varieties, such as Moluccan Malay and Menado Malay. It remains to be investigated whether these varieties ultimately also derive from the above continuum.

²These Malays and Indonesians came from the Malay Peninsula (Penang, Malacca, Singapore, Pahang, Trengganu, Kelantan), Java, Madura and North Borneo (Hussainmiya 1984).

breath	<i>nāpas</i>	far	<i>jāu</i>
breathe	<i>nāpas ambel</i>	fat, grease	<i>gummuk</i>
brother (older)	<i>kāka</i>	father	<i>bāpa</i>
(younger)	<i>āḍe</i>	father's brother	
burn (tr.)	<i>bākar</i>	(older)	(see 'parent's')
butterfly	<i>wannati</i>	(younger)	<i>mūda</i>
buy	<i>bālli</i>	father's sister	
		(older)	(see 'parent's')
chew	<i>cap(p)i</i>	(younger)	?
chick	<i>kunji</i>	feather	<i>sāyap</i>
chicken	<i>āyaṇ</i>	fire	<i>appi</i>
child	<i>ānak</i>	first	<i>katāma</i>
child-in-law	<i>ānakmantu</i>	fish	<i>ikkaṇ</i>
choose	<i>pīli</i>	flower	<i>kumbaṇ</i>
clean (adj.)	<i>bārsi, bīrsi</i>	fly (v.)	<i>tārbaṇ, turbaṇ</i>
clean (v.)	<i>bārsikiṇ</i>	fog	<i>umbuṇ</i>
climb	<i>naik</i>	foot	(see leg)
cold (weather)	<i>dīṇiṇ</i>	four	<i>əmpat, umpat</i>
come	<i>mari</i>	friend	<i>tumman</i>
cooked	<i>māsak</i>	fruit	<i>būa</i>
correct, true	<i>bənnar</i>		
count (v.)	<i>ītōm, itōṇ</i>	ginger	<i>jāya</i>
cow	<i>sampi</i>	go	<i>pi, pəggi, piggi</i>
crow	<i>gāgak</i>	go down	<i>tūruṇ</i>
cry	<i>nāṇis</i>	good	<i>baye</i>
cut, hack	<i>pōtōṇ</i>	grass	<i>rumpuṭ</i>
		green	<i>ḍāwōṇ</i> (also leaf)
day	<i>āri</i>	grow (intr.v.)	<i>jādi</i>
die, be dead	<i>māti</i>	grow (tr.v.)	<i>jādikiṇ</i>
dig	<i>gāli</i>	guts	<i>pur(r)ut muda</i>
dirty	<i>kōtōr</i>		
dog	<i>aṇjiṇ</i>	hair	(see head, body, pubic)
donkey	<i>kalde</i>	hand	<i>tāṇaṇ</i>
don't	<i>tussa (< *tra usa), jaṇ</i>	happy	<i>sūka</i>
dream (v.)	<i>m(ə)nimpi, nimpī</i>	head	<i>pāla, kupāla, kəpāla</i>
drink	<i>mīnuṇ</i>	head hair	<i>rāmbuṭ</i>
dry	<i>kirriṇ</i>	headache	(have a --) <i>pənniṇ</i>
dull, blunt	<i>mōṭṭi</i>	hear	<i>ḍəṇṇar, diṇṇar</i>
dust	<i>ḍubbu</i>	heavy	<i>bərrat, burrat</i>
		hen	<i>āyaṇ</i>
ear	<i>kūpiṇ</i>	here	<i>sinni</i>
earth, soil	<i>būmi</i>	hide (v.)	<i>subūni</i>
eat	<i>mākaṇ</i>	hit	<i>pūkul</i>
egg	<i>tullōr</i>	hold (in fist)	<i>pəgaṇ</i>
evening	<i>sore</i>	horse	<i>kūda</i>
extinguished	<i>pāḍaṇ</i>	house	<i>rūma</i>
eye	<i>māta</i>	how?	<i>āpa cāra</i>
fall (as fruit)	<i>jāto</i>	human being	<i>mənsīa</i>

hunt	<i>m(ə)nembak</i> (cf. 'shoot')	no	<i>tər-, t(a)ra;</i> <i>bukkan,</i> <i>bukkaŋ</i>
husband	<i>lāki</i> , (more polite:) <i>ābaŋ</i>	noon	<i>təŋŋāri, təŋŋa</i> <i>āri</i>
I	<i>go</i> ; (polite:) <i>se</i>	not	(see no)
if	<i>kaso, kalu</i>	not yet	<i>lai tara, lai tra</i>
in, inside	-- <i>pe dālaŋ, -- pe dālam</i>	nose	<i>īdōŋ</i>
kill	<i>būnu</i>	old	<i>lāma</i>
lake; river	<i>kōlaŋ</i>	one	<i>sattu, (h)attu</i>
last, past	<i>puggi</i> (<i>tāwōŋ, wik</i> , etc.)	open, uncover	<i>būka</i>
laugh	<i>tāwa</i>	other	<i>layeŋ</i>
leaf	<i>dāwōŋ</i>	palm tree	<i>pām pōhōŋ</i>
left side	<i>tāŋaŋ kīri</i>	parent's older	
leg/foot	<i>kāki</i>	sibling	<i>ūa</i>
lie down	<i>sānder</i>	person	<i>ōraŋ</i> (see also human being)
lightning	<i>kīlap</i>	plant (n.)	<i>pōhōŋ</i> (also 'tree')
live, be alive	(<i>īi</i>) <i>dōp</i>	pound (rice)	<i>tūmbuk</i>
liver	<i>āti</i>	pubic hair	<i>būlu</i>
long (objects)	<i>pānjan</i>	rat	<i>tikus</i>
mad, crazy	<i>gīla</i>	really	<i>buttul</i>
man, male	<i>klāki</i>	red	<i>m(eē)ra</i>
meat, flesh	<i>dāgiŋ</i>	right side	<i>tāŋaŋ nāsi</i> (see 'lake')
meet, see	<i>kutumu</i>	river	<i>jālaŋ</i>
milk	<i>sūsu</i>	road, path	<i>kūre</i>
mid	<i>təŋŋa, tiŋŋa</i>	roof	<i>ākar</i>
month, moon	<i>būlaŋ</i>	root	<i>tāli</i>
morning	<i>pāgi</i>	rope	<i>būsuk</i>
mosquito	<i>pamuk</i>	rotten	
mother	(ə) <i>mma</i>	salt	<i>gāram</i>
mother's sister		sand	<i>tāna</i>
(older)	(see 'parent's')	say, utter	<i>ōmōŋ</i>
(younger)	<i>bībi</i>	scratch (an itch)	<i>gārōk</i>
mother's brother		sea, ocean	<i>lāwut</i>
(older)	(see 'parent's')	see	<i>līat</i>
(younger)	<i>māma</i>	second	<i>kadūa</i>
moustache	<i>kūmis</i>	sew (clothing)	<i>jāit</i>
mouth	<i>mūlut</i>	sharp	<i>tājam</i>
name	<i>nāma</i>	shoot (arrow)	<i>tembak</i>
narrow	<i>səmpit</i>	short	<i>pēndek</i>
near	<i>dəkkat</i>	shoulder	<i>pūndak</i>
neck	<i>lēher</i>	shout	<i>bətarak</i>
needle	<i>jārōŋ</i>	shy, ashamed	<i>mālu</i>
neighbours	<i>subla</i>	sick, painful	<i>sākit</i>
new	<i>bāru</i>		
night	<i>mālaŋ</i>		

sister (older)	<i>dāta</i>	tie up, fasten	<i>īkat</i>
(younger)	<i>āḍe</i>	tomorrow	<i>b(eē)so</i>
sit	<i>ḍūḍuk</i>	tongue	<i>līda</i>
skin	<i>kūlit</i>	tooth	<i>gīgi</i>
sky	<i>lāṇit</i>	tough, strict	<i>jāhat</i> (see 'bad')
sleep (v.)	<i>tūdər</i>	tree	<i>pəhəŋ</i> (also 'plant')
slim (people)	<i>kūrus</i>	two	<i>dūa</i>
small	<i>kiccil</i>	veer to the side	<i>bālik</i>
smoke	<i>assap</i>	vomit	<i>munta, mənta</i>
snake	<i>ūlar</i>	wake up	<i>bāwun</i>
sniff, smell	<i>cioŋ</i>	walk, go	<i>jālaŋ</i>
spider	<i>selendi</i>	warm (weather)	<i>pānas</i>
spit	<i>lūḍa</i>	warm (body)	<i>āṇat</i>
squeeze	<i>jippit, pərras</i>	warm (food)	<i>āṇat, pānas</i>
stab, pierce	<i>tīkam</i>	we (excl., incl.)	<i>kitaŋ</i>
stand, stop	<i>brinti</i>	week	<i>miŋgu, wik</i>
star	<i>bintaŋ</i>	well	<i>sūmur</i>
steal	<i>cūri</i>	wet	<i>bāsa</i>
stick (wood)	<i>kāyu, kāi</i>	what?	<i>āpa</i>
stone	<i>bātu</i>	when?	<i>kāpaŋ</i>
suck	<i>īrup</i>	where	<i>māna-ka</i>
sun	<i>bintāri</i>	where do you live?	<i>māna-ka lu arə ḍūḍuk?</i>
sweat	<i>krīṇat</i>	white	<i>pūti</i>
swell (abscess)	<i>bəŋkak, buŋkak</i>	who?	<i>sāpa</i>
swim	<i>bərnaŋ, burnāŋ</i>	wide	<i>ləbar</i>
tail	<i>ēkər</i>	wife	<i>bīni</i>
Tamil	<i>məlbar</i>	wind	<i>āṇiŋ</i>
teach	<i>ājarkāsi</i>	wing	<i>sāyap</i>
that	<i>uttu, ittu</i>	woman	<i>pəmpaŋ, prəmpaŋ</i>
thatch	(see 'roof')	woodapple	<i>blāŋga</i>
there	<i>sittu</i>	woods, forest	<i>ūtaŋ</i>
they	<i>dəraŋ (paḍa), ḍrampaḍa</i>	work	<i>pukurjan</i>
thief	<i>māliŋ</i>	wrap	<i>gūluŋ</i>
thick (solid)	<i>tubbal</i>	yawn	<i>kəṭawi</i>
thin (objects)	<i>ālus</i>	year	<i>tāwəŋ</i>
third	<i>katīga</i>	yellow	<i>kūṇit</i> (also <i>curcuma</i>)
this	<i>inni</i>	yesterday	<i>kumārīŋ</i>
three	<i>tīga</i>	you (pl.)	<i>lorəŋ</i>
throat	<i>tunḡōrək</i>	you (sg.)	<i>lu</i>
throw (as a stone)	<i>lēmpar</i>		
thunder	<i>glūdut</i>		

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SHIFTING PATTERNS OF LANGUAGE ALLEGIANCE: A GENERATIONAL PERSPECTIVE FROM EASTERN INDONESIA

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1. INTRODUCTION

This paper addresses the process of language shift, with a focus on generational changes, in the village of Lohiatala, which is located in Western Seram, Central Maluku, Indonesia. Data for this paper was collected during an 11 month fieldwork period from January to November 1988.

Alune is an Austronesian language which has been classified as a member of the Proto East Central Maluku branch of Central Malayo-Polynesian (Collins 1983). Today the language is spoken in approximately 25 villages in Western Seram. All of these villages are undergoing language shift from the indigenous language, Alune, to the regional Malay dialect, Ambonese Malay, and, secondarily, to the national language, Indonesian.¹ This process is paralleled in the majority of Christian villages in Central Maluku, and the Alune language was selected as the focus of this study primarily because of the availability of both ethnographic and linguistic literature dating back to the mid 19th century.² This provides a valuable point of comparison with contemporary conditions which is critical to the study of language obsolescence. Research was centred in the village of Lohiatala both because of its recent history and its present location approximately six kilometres inland from the south-west coast which enables the villagers to maintain a lifestyle which draws on both the mountains and the coast. Language shift has been proceeding in Lohiatala for approximately 65 years and use of Alune decreases markedly with each generation. The origins of language shift can be traced to three main factors. Each of these will be described briefly before I present the syntactic evidence for language shift.

2. SOCIOHISTORICAL SETTING

Three principal periods which are relevant to the process of language shift are identifiable in the history of Lohiatala.

¹In this paper the term 'Malay' refers to all varieties of Malay, in particular Ambonese Malay and standard Indonesian. If, however, these two variants need to be disambiguated, the difference is made explicit by referring to 'Ambonese Malay' or 'Indonesian'.

²Most significant among these are van Elfris (1864), Jensen (1948a, 1948b) and Jensen and Niggemeyer (1939).

2.1 PRECONTACT

Traditionally, the village of Lohiatala was located in the mountains of Western Seram, approximately 35 kilometres from the coast. The Alune were slash and burn agriculturalists whose principal diet was sago, rice, wild boar and deer. Indigenous religious practices involved the use of incantations to call on mythical beings associated with all aspects of the physical environment. The practice of head-hunting was tied integrally into their ritual life. During this period the village can be characterised as insular and basically monolingual. Despite the fact that Ambonese Malay had been spoken in parts of Central Maluku for approximately 400 years it is clear that this language was known to few community members. The nearest neighbours were the Alune-speaking villages of Rumberu, Rumbatu and Manusa. Contact with speakers of other languages was infrequent, and limited to the Wemale¹ people living to the east, traders in the south from whom Dutch and Chinese pottery was exchanged for cloves, durian and damar for use as ritual payment in bridewealth ceremonies, and occasional visits from Dutch administrators and soldiers.

2.2 1925-1965

This picture changed dramatically in 1925 when the first Calvinist missionary arrived, bringing with him a new religious philosophy and a new language. The missionary was a Malay speaker from the neighbouring island of Saparua and, initially, he communicated through an Alune-speaking interpreter who lived in the (non-Alune) coastal village of Hatusua. Conversion to Christianity was rapid. People still alive today, who were children when the missionary arrived, assess that all villagers had converted within five to ten years. The process began with children and teenagers, who appear to have converted more readily and then encouraged their parents and grandparents to attend catechism classes so that they could be confirmed as full members of the church. Those attending catechism class were taught the very basic concepts of Christianity in Malay, including recital of the Lord's Prayer and the Creed. Knowledge of these was considered essential before baptism could take place and old people today tell stories of the difficulties of learning in a language with which they had little familiarity.

The second factor precipitating language shift was the opening of a school by the Calvinists in 1926. Community members of all ages entered the first class and were given three years of schooling in which they were taught reading, writing, hymn singing and religious instruction through the medium of Malay only. According to members of the first class who are still alive today, the use of Alune was strictly forbidden and incurred severe punishment. Because of the language difficulties, most students repeated at least one class and the three years was frequently extended to as many as six. Former students emphasise the confusion they felt, and most claim they were in school for at least a year before they were able to understand anything which was asked of them. As students became more familiar with Malay they insisted that their younger siblings learn and use it constantly so that they wouldn't suffer the same problems when they entered school. This attitude continues today, and parents refuse to speak Alune with their young children so that they won't be handicapped by language problems in school. The few who do attempt to teach Alune to their children are criticised for placing their children at an educational disadvantage.

¹Although I have adopted this spelling of the name 'Wemale' (for reasons of consistency in the literature, the Alune of Lohiatala pronounce the name with an initial glottal stop: /wemale/.

The third factor affecting shifting patterns of language allegiance resulted from the guerilla war which was fought in Maluku during the 1950s. The war was fought between soldiers of the Indonesian Republic and a secessionist movement in Maluku which wished to form an independent republic (*Republik Maluku Selatan*). In order to remove the villagers from danger, and to decrease the possibility of villagers providing support to the guerillas, the Indonesian army escorted the people of Lohiatala from the mountains to the coastal village of Hatusua, a non-Alune village in which Malay is the primary language spoken. This village was chosen as it was the nearest village to the south and there had been some previous contact with Lohiatala in the form of trade. The villagers remained on the coast for 13 years, and older villagers consider this period in their history the principal cause of language shift as Malay became the first language of all children born in Hatusua, or those who were young when the move occurred.

2.3 CONTEMPORARY SETTING

The move to the coast has had an ongoing impact on the villagers of Lohiatala. Rather than return to the mountain village once the war had ended, the people decided to establish their village in a new location only four kilometres from the coast. This decision caused tension in the community as older members were eager to return to the mountains and to their traditional lifestyle, while younger people wanted to live within easier access of larger towns and the regional capital of Ambon City. Several factors were responsible for this decision, each of which highlight the interaction between external social forces and changing patterns of language choice. It is evident that a new set of cultural associations is becoming well integrated into the community. Malay is associated with progress: the church, education, modern medicine and the pan-Indonesian system of government, while Alune increasingly is linked to traditional knowledge and the indigenous religion. This is one of several factors which are relevant in the search for explanations about the process of language shift.

2.3.1 EDUCATION

The principal reason to which community members ascribe the decision to remain near the coast was concern for their children's education. Within the modern Indonesian context, they felt that a return to the mountains would limit opportunities for further education as children were reluctant to spend long periods of time far from their family and village. A three-teacher elementary school has been established in the village and increasingly, children continue their education in one of the junior high schools which are located in the neighbouring villages of Waesamu, Kamal and Kairatu, or on Ambon Island.

2.3.2 ECONOMY

A growing reliance upon a money-based economy also played a role in this decision as the new village location is near the market towns of Kairatu and Waisarisa, and within several hours' travel of Ambon. Due to their changing lifestyle, villagers (particularly women) have almost daily contact with members of other communities. They travel to Waisarisa to sell produce and to buy fish, to Ambon to sell cloves or durian, or to Kairatu and Kamal to care for their school children who board there. In addition women from the *transmigrasi* village of Waihatu go to Lohiatala to buy produce for resale in the market. Malay is the medium of communication for all these transactions. Young community

members leave to join the army or police force, to work in the plywood factory at Waisarisa, in offices in Kairatu or as servants in Ambon.

Older people, however, retain strong ties with the old village in the mountains, often returning to the new village only for the Sunday church service. In the clove and durian seasons most of the villagers move to the mountains as the orchards are still located there.

2.3.3 RELIGION

The church, which continually stresses the need for 'progress', also played a role in the decision-making process. Village relocation became a metaphor for a new lifestyle: a shift away from traditional values, indigenous religious beliefs and the practice of rituals. The building of a large modern church in the new village has effectively ended the possibility of a permanent return to the mountains. The laying of the foundation of the church marked wide-reaching cultural changes which were symbolised by a ceremony held to mark the banning of the use of magic for any purpose.

Church services occur most days of the week and include the Sunday service, weekly prayer meetings, youth group, women's prayer group, Sunday school, Bible study class for children and catechism class. All are held in the medium of standard Indonesian.

2.3.4 POLITICS

Political changes have also accompanied the establishment of the new village. The village headman is now an elected government official and not a member of the traditional descent line for this position. The roles of village headman and ritual leader were previously held by the same person. This is no longer possible as modern political leaders frequently have weak links with the village and are unskilled in traditional practices. Although the traditional roles of *luma matai* (lineage head), *tapel upui*¹ and *mlinu* (village chanter) have been partially incorporated into the modern system, the responsibilities of these people have been greatly weakened and their status diminished.

2.3.5 DEMOGRAPHY

The many changes which have taken place over the last 20 years are reflected in village demography. In 1988, 31 per cent of the population were less than 10 years of age, and 52 per cent were aged 20 or younger. Of the total population, only 21 per cent were born in the old village, that is, in a basically monolingual Alune setting. The multilingual nature of the new village location is reflected in the fact that all nine of the villages located within a ten mile radius of Lohiatata contain migrants from other islands in Maluku, or from the more far-flung islands of Java and Lombok. In contrast to traditional marriages, which occurred almost exclusively with other Alune speakers, approximately 20 per cent of married couples today include a non-Alune partner.

¹Literally, the 'head of the land' a hereditary role which involves the performance of ceremonies to make the land safe for human occupation. The *tapel upui* also possesses the knowledge to heal those who have been harmed physically or mentally by the spirits.

3. EVIDENCE FOR LANGUAGE SHIFT

Now that we have seen the sociohistorical factors affecting the contemporary linguistic situation in Lohiatala, this section will focus on syntactic evidence (obtained through proficiency testing) for generational changes in language allegiance.

3.1 INTRODUCTION

Testing of Alune-language proficiency of two groups of speakers was conducted for two reasons. Firstly, in order to ascertain the language ability of children and young people it was necessary to test them because speakers younger than 20 rarely, if ever, speak Alune, making it impossible to obtain examples of natural language use. Secondly, the tests were conducted to provide data which could be compared with earlier studies of obsolescing languages (cf. Dorian 1981; Schmidt 1985) which had identified the existence of a category known as 'semi-speaker' and established an age-related proficiency continuum from the more conservative language usage of older speakers to the radically innovative usage of the youngest speakers.

In order to determine whether, in each succeeding generation of speakers, there are structural changes in the syntax of Alune, thirteen children aged from 4 to 15 years, and twenty adults aged from 18 to 44 were tested for their ability to comprehend and produce Alune. Responses of the test subjects were compared to an older fluent speaker norm established from extensive interviews with two men aged 64 and 69. Respondents were asked to translate orally a set of stimulus sentences from Ambonese Malay to Alune. The sentences were designed to elicit a range of fifteen syntactic structures. This paper will present data from three syntactic categories: the genitive, directional and locative systems. These results parallel the ability of speakers on the other *syntactic* categories which were tested, and are presented as a sample of the complete test results.

3.2 GENITIVE STRUCTURES

The languages of Central Maluku distinguish two categories of nouns: alienable and inalienable. Inalienable nouns include all items considered 'irrevocably possessed' (Collins 1983:27) including body parts, certain emotions and kinship terms. All other nouns are alienably possessed. The two categories are reflected in the system of genitive marking. If the possessed noun is alienable the pronominal marker precedes it, whereas the pronominal marker follows the possessed noun in an inalienable construction.

	alienable 'dog'		inalienable 'eye'	
1SG	<i>au</i>	<i>'u-asu</i>	<i>au</i>	<i>mata-'u</i>
2SG	<i>ale</i>	<i>mu-asu</i>	<i>ale</i>	<i>mata-mu</i>
3SG	<i>ile</i>	<i>ni-asu</i>	<i>ile</i>	<i>mata-i¹</i>
1PL.I	<i>ite</i>	<i>ma-asu</i>	<i>ite</i>	<i>mata-ma</i>

¹Several examples of the third person singular pronominal marker *-ni* were found in the texts of stories told by a 69-year-old speaker, though this form was never elicited in isolation from the same speaker.

wali-ni *bunu-i* *pene'a*
sibling-3SG.GEN kill-3SG already
His brother had killed him.

1PL.E	<i>ami</i> ma -asu	<i>ami</i> mata- ma
2PL	<i>imi</i> mi -asu	<i>imi</i> mata- mi
3PL	<i>sie</i> si -asu	<i>sie</i> mata- si

This system has been radically restructured by younger Alune speakers. Inalienable constructions display three stages of change.

- (1)¹ I'm scared of snakes.
- | | |
|-------|--|
| YK12F | <i>au</i> <u><i>takut</i></u> <i>nia'we</i> |
| | 1SG afraid snake |
| AT18F | <i>au</i> <i>dila</i> <i>nia'we</i> |
| | 1SG fear snake |
| AT23M | <i>au</i> <i>dila-i</i> <i>nia'we</i> |
| | 1SG fear-3SG snake |
| PK40M | <i>au</i> <i>dila-'u</i> <i>le</i> <i>nia'we</i> |
| | 1SG fear-1SG because snake |
| HK69M | <i>au</i> <i>dila-'u</i> <i>le</i> <i>nia'we</i> |
| | 1SG fear-1SG because snake |
- (2)² Your mother's gone to wash.
- | | |
|-------|---------------------------------------|
| YK12F | <i>au</i> <u><i>mama</i></u> 'eu su'u |
| | 1SG mother go wash |
| AT18F | <i>au</i> <i>ina-i</i> su'u |
| | 1SG mother-3SG wash |
| AT23M | <i>ale</i> <i>ina-i</i> 'eu su'u |
| | 2SG mother-3SG go wash |
| PK40M | <i>ale</i> <i>ina-mu</i> 'eu su'u |
| | 2SG mother-2SG go wash |
| HK69M | <i>ale</i> <i>ina-mu</i> 'eu su'u |
| | 2SG mother-2SG go wash |

Speakers at the lower end of the proficiency continuum use no marking and frequently mix Alune and Malay. Those in the middle age-group use the third person singular genitive marker *-i* regardless of person, and older speakers retain conservative genitive marking. However some speakers, particularly those within the group aged approximately 20 to 35, use a variety of strategies, including the use of double genitive marking.

Collins (1983:28) found the same two allomorphs in the Hitu, Latu and Wemale languages with the following phonetic conditioning: *-ni* following high front vowels, *-i* elsewhere.

¹In the example sets, use of Malay in the responses of younger speakers is underlined. The speakers' codes consist of the speaker's initials, age and sex.

²In several of the example sets the pronoun produced in the responses of some younger speakers differed from that presented to them in the Ambonese Malay stimulus sentence. Misunderstanding of whether the first or second person singular pronoun is required is a common problem in elicitation tasks. In this setting, in which younger speakers do not ordinarily speak Alune, this problem was compounded by the stress which the task caused the respondents. As I was interested in the system of agreement between the possessor and possessed all responses were included for analysis.

- (3) Your mother's gone to wash.
- | | | | | |
|-------|---------------|---------------|-----------------|-----------------|
| PT23M | <i>au</i> | <i>nie</i> | <i>ina-i</i> | <i>'eu su'u</i> |
| | 1SG | own/possess | mother-3SG | go wash |
| MN25F | <i>ale-mu</i> | <i>ina-mu</i> | <i>'eu su'u</i> | |
| | 2SG-2SG | mother-2SG | go wash | |
| HK69M | <i>ale</i> | <i>ina-mu</i> | <i>'eu su'u</i> | |
| | 2SG | mother-2SG | go wash | |

In contrast, alienable nouns display the use of only two genitive-marking strategies: zero marking for younger speakers, while older speakers retain the full paradigm.¹

- (4) Your dog is dead.
- | | | | |
|-------|------------|-------------------|---------------------------------|
| YK12F | <i>au</i> | <i>asu e</i> | <i>mata peneka</i> ² |
| | 1SG | dog 3SG | die already |
| AT18F | <i>au</i> | <i>asu</i> | <i>mata pene'a</i> |
| | 1SG | dog | die already |
| AT23M | <i>ale</i> | <i>asure</i> | <i>mata pene'a</i> |
| | 2SG | dog | die already |
| PK40M | <i>ale</i> | <i>mu-asu</i> | <i>mata pene'a</i> |
| | 2SG | 2SG-dog | die already |
| HK69M | <i>ale</i> | <i>mu-asure e</i> | <i>mata pene</i> |
| | 2SG | 2SG-dog 3SG | die already |

To summarise, genitive constructions in Alune show three stages of change. The youngest speakers, aged 18 and less, use no genitive marking on nouns. Speakers aged approximately 19 to 30 still contrastively mark alienably versus inalienably possessed nouns but the marking has been simplified to \emptyset (alienable) versus *-i* (inalienable). Older speakers retain the full genitive paradigm. These differences can be shown on a continuum of proficiency as follows:³

.YK	LT	LS	AT	LK	AT	HM	PT	UK	NT	MN	KL	MN	ST	OT	SN	AM	SN	PK	AR
-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
.12	14	15	18	19	23	19	23	32	18	25	29	25	40	42	32	35	44	40	40
\emptyset marking				----- <i>-i</i> -----												full genitive paradigm			

3.3 DIRECTIONALS

The traditional Alune system displays six directionals.

¹Collins (1980:11) found similar reduction in the genitive system of Laha, a language spoken on Ambon Island. There, both the alienable and inalienable systems were reduced to one marker, *-ŋ*. However inalienable possession was distinguished by the use of double marking with the genitive marker postposed on both the pronoun and possessed noun (e.g. *nu-ŋ mata-ŋ* 'my eye').

²The use of *k* in *peneka* is a dialectal variant of glottal stop which is a feature of the southern and northern dialects of Alune (and which appears to be spreading to the central dialect).

³This continuum is based on an analysis of *all* test sentences involving genitive structures, not just the few presented here, and placement of speakers on the continuum correlates broadly with age.

<i>mlete/nete</i>	upwards direction, to a distant place
<i>mpai</i>	downwards direction, to a distant place
<i>mpei</i>	towards the river
<i>ndi</i>	away from the river
<i>mlau/nau</i>	towards the ocean
<i>nda</i>	away from the ocean

This system is being eroded as younger speakers arbitrarily choose any directional or replace the Alune with Malay.

(5) They're going to the old village.

YK12F	<i>au</i>	'eu	<i>ke</i>	<i>kampung</i>	<i>lama</i>	
	1SG	go	to	village	old	
AL13F	<i>ite</i>	'eu	<i>pei</i>	<i>kampung</i>	<i>lama</i>	
	1PL.I	go	DIR	village	old	
LS15F	<i>tamata</i>	'eu	<i>pai</i>	<i>kampung</i>	<i>lama</i>	
	person	go	DIR	village	old	
AR40M	<i>e</i>	'eu	<i>nete</i>	<i>hena</i>	<i>buine</i>	
	3SG	go	DIR	village	old/empty	
HK69M	<i>sie si</i>	'eu	<i>nete</i>	<i>hena</i>	<i>buine</i>	
	3PL	go	DIR	village	old/empty	

3.4 LOCATIVE

It is also evident that younger speakers are beginning to collapse the categories of locative and directional.

(6) We stay in the hut.

HM19F	<i>ami</i>	<i>due</i>	<i>mpei</i>	<i>tale</i>	
	1PL.E	stay	DIR	hut	
PT23M	<i>ami</i>	<i>due</i>	<i>nda</i>	<i>tale</i>	
	1PL.E	stay	DIR	hut	
AT23M	<i>ami</i>	<i>due</i>	<i>di</i>	<i>tale</i>	
	1PL.E	stay	in	hut	
AR40M	<i>ami</i>	<i>due</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>tale</i>	
	1PL.E	stay	LOC	hut	
HK69M	<i>ami</i>	<i>due</i>	<i>me</i>	<i>tale</i>	
	1PL.E	stay	LOC	hut	

4. CONCLUSION

The data which I have presented appear to add support to the claim that an age-related continuum of proficiency can be established for the remaining speakers of a language which is approaching extinction. Both the genitive paradigm and the directional system show reduction along a continuum

from the conservative Alune of older speakers to the innovative use of the youngest speakers. Nonetheless, this information about three syntactic features of the language, while presenting tentative support for earlier claims about the process of language obsolescence, does not reflect the picture for the whole corpus. It is important to stress that this continuum provides an accurate picture of syntactic change *only*. The larger corpus of data¹ (which lies outside the scope of this paper) does not yield such a simplistic picture of language shift. Rather it points to the fact that significant aspects of the process of language shift are revealed once we take into account cultural knowledge and differing contexts of language use. This underlines the fact that researchers of a dying language must investigate the full range of knowledge available to, and utilised by, speakers. Only then can we ascertain whether linguistic universals can be established for the process of language death.

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¹These data include knowledge of magic, ritual, traditional healing practices and a healing language, folk tales, oral history, song styles, indigenous naming practices and a men's secret language associated with headhunting.

BAHASA INDONESIA AVANT LA LETTRE IN THE 1920s

C.D. GRIJNS

Whereas the social function of the Indonesian language¹, especially in its historical perspective, has been the subject of many studies,² there are no linguistic descriptions of the main varieties of 20th century Malay which have directly contributed to the emergence of Indonesian, except for the many textbooks in which the 'classical' or 'Riau' Malay is presented. Nor is there any study of the processes of convergence that have been decisive for the development of modern Indonesian. The matter is not only of historical interest. Insight into the mechanisms of convergence between varieties of the same language is of paramount importance for understanding the present situation with regard to the norm of standard Indonesian as well as for recognising the true nature of diglossia in monolingual speakers of Indonesian, presently estimated at 17 per cent of the population.³

I do not attempt to give here a sketch of the existing literature and ongoing research in the field of linguistic convergence. I confine myself to mentioning, in the final part of this essay, a recent study by Jeff Siegel (1987) on koineisation that seems to me highly relevant for students of Indonesian. His approach leads us to a field somewhat separate from the study of borrowing, interference between languages, pidginisation and creolisation. It is a field that lies close to studies on *Umgangssprache* 'colloquial language' and *Dialekt und Einheitssprache* 'dialect and standard language'. There is a wealth of literature dealing with these topics with regard to most Western languages. We have in particular a great deal to learn from the linguistic situation in areas where German is spoken, not only from 'classics' such as Kloss (1952, 1967) or Ammon (1973), but also from German scholars who specialise in local situations, as represented in the two recent volumes on *Dialektologie* (Besch et al., eds 1982-83).

It is also beyond the scope of this essay to deal with the history of Malay prior to this century. However, much of what will be said about the convergence of varieties of 'modern Malay' is also applicable to earlier stages in the development of the Malay language. And a better understanding of the development of modern Indonesian seen as a process of koineisation may prove to be stimulating for the study of other, and older, varieties of Malay.

Looking upon Indonesian as a koine is not something entirely new. For example, as early as 1938 Soewandhie (1938:35) called modern Indonesian a 'koine', based, as he put it, on 'Middle

¹ An earlier version of this paper was presented at the Sixth European Colloquium on Indonesian and Malay Studies, held in Passau, Germany, 22-27 June 1987.

² An extensive bibliography is given in Bodensiedt 1967. Later publications include: Alisjahbana 1970; Teeuw 1972; Swellengrebel 1974 (esp. pp. 173 ff.), 1978 (esp. pp. 3 ff., 103 ff.); Bachtar 1975; Abas 1987; Prentice 1978; Khaidir Anwar 1980; Steinhauer 1980, 1987; Van Randwijck 1981 (esp. pp. 432-444); Vikør 1983; Moeliono 1985, 1986.

³ A.M. Moeliono, personal communication. For Moeliono's interpretation of diglossia in speakers of Indonesian see Moeliono 1986:52-53.

Indonesian': "Kami berpendapatan, bahwa *bahasa Indonesia modern* itoe, ja'ni *bahasa persatoean ra'jat Indonesia*, tidak lain tidak boekan ialah soeatoe 'KOINE' dari *bahasa Indonesia pertengahan*'. ("We are of the opinion that *modern Indonesian*, that is the *language of [national] unity of the Indonesian people*, is nothing else than a 'koine' originating from *Middle Indonesian*."*)¹ However, in this essay we shall not go back into history as far as Soewandhie's 'Middle Indonesian'.

The first step to be taken, if we wish to study convergence between varieties of 20th century Malay, is to isolate those varieties which play a leading part in the process from those which do not. Towards this end some theoretical considerations can be put forward, and we can also study the opinions and attitudes of people who are, or have been, responsible for language policy. Such preliminary explorations would precede an endeavour to describe the varieties in question and to study their interrelation.

In view of the wide scope of the subject I focus on one particular period in the history of Indonesian, namely the 1920s. This was a decisive period for the emergence of the idea of national unity, and one consequence was that during this period the term *bahasa Indonesia* came into use. A very readable introduction to the political situation of those years is to be found in the first part of Bernhard Dahm's thesis, especially in the American edition (Dahm 1969).

In making the attempt to distinguish between relevant and less relevant varieties of Malay I find I must first (section 1) deal with the central theme of *daerah* 'the region'. In this case 'the region' means primarily the areas outside Java and Madura. Then I examine the opinions of some of the Dutch authorities in the Netherlands Indies' Department of Education (section 2), the Dutch educationalist J. Kats (section 3), a responsible official in the Bureau for Popular Literature (*Volkslectuur*) in close cooperation with Indonesian translators (section 4), and, finally, a young Javanese official, functioning in the *priyayi* (Javanese officials of noble birth) tradition (section 5). In conclusion I deal with Siegel's approach and its relevance for the study of Indonesian (section 6).

I do not have any explicit answer to the question posed by A.M. Moeliono (1986:52), as to which variety of Malay the young Indonesians had in mind in 1928, when they proclaimed *bahasa Indonesia* as the language of national unity. At that time they themselves were obviously more concerned with the cause of political unity than with the problem of the variation in their usage of Malay. However, a few lines of the language as used by two of the most prominent leaders may serve as an implicit indication of the answer (see Appendix 5 and 6). Some other textual samples are used to illustrate official Malay usage of the period.

1. DIVERGING AND CONVERGING VARIETIES OF MALAY

Both divergence and convergence between linguistic varieties are determined to a great extent by ethnic or regional identity on the one hand and communicative needs on the other. If a variety typically symbolises social identity, as is normally the case with local dialects or other in-group speech, it tends to exclude outsiders by being 'intolerant': even minor deviations from the norm betray and discredit the foreigner. At the opposite end are varieties that serve as tools for wider communication. These tolerate more variation and are more apt to contribute to a process of convergence. For our purpose it seems necessary to make a distinction between the Malay varieties of both sorts. The local dialect in the originally Malay areas, as well as Malay vernaculars found elsewhere, such as Jakarta Malay (Betawi) or Manado Malay, fall into the category of divergent

¹In this essay all passages which are translated by the author – from Dutch, German or Indonesian (Malay) – are marked with an asterisk: *.

varieties as long as they strongly symbolise group identity. Nababan (1985:8-9, Table 3) reports a notably low percentage of speakers of Indonesian as a first language in Manado, and a very high percentage in Jakarta. This points to a strong position for vernacular Malay in Manado and probably indicates that, for the majority of inhabitants of Manado, their local Malay is an ethnically determined variety. The same holds good for the speakers of the original Jakarta Malay vernacular. But these presently form a very small minority of the inhabitants of Jakarta. The majority speak, rather unsystematically, a kind of *Umgangssprache* which they rightly identify as Indonesian. Manadonese Malay and Jakarta Malay belong to the diverging types of varieties, whereas the *Umgangssprache* is converging.

Convergent varieties of Malay function in most cases as second languages for their speakers, who often do not even master them fully. Second languages are by definition languages of wider communication and as such are automatically involved in processes of convergence. Even pidginised varieties fall into this category (a sample is given in Appendix 1). The same probably holds good for parts of the classical Malay literature, of which Hooykaas (1939:412) wrote, rather impressionistically, that the Malay manuscripts almost without exception use a restricted vocabulary and thus are accessible to people who have a limited knowledge of Malay. Another possibility suggested by Hooykaas (p.412) (also without giving solid arguments) is that the authors were *peranakans* (Indonesia-born Chinese) who were unable to do better. In that case as well there must have been convergence.

For any further linguistic study of Malay in the 1920s (and later) it seems to me essential to realise that Malay, as a language of wider communication, has always been bi-directional. On the one hand the norm lies in what has been taught as, or is intuitively felt to be, 'general Malay'; on the other hand there is accommodation towards the addressee's variety. This phenomenon can be observed in newspapers as well as in official documents. As early as 1858 the editor of the *Soerat Chabar Batawie* (The Batavia Newspaper) announced that this weekly would use a type of language "not too high, but not too low either, so that anybody who knew Malay would be able to understand it"* (see Appendix 2). For the sociolinguist there is still the task of selecting the criteria that determine whether or not a given text in a given period belongs to the diasystem of 'general' Malay. Local vernacular Malay such as Kelantan Malay, Trengganu Malay, Deli Malay, but also Manado Malay and Jakarta Malay would be excluded by definition from this diasystem, even in the case of close contacts and heavy mutual interference.

Clearly, in such an approach the *daerah* is not a linguistic category. Discrete, typically regional Malay vernaculars can be classified as *Abstandssprachen* 'distance languages', to use Kloss's term for varieties regarded as individual languages purely on the basis of their linguistic distance from all other varieties, even those closely related. In opposition to *Abstandssprachen* Kloss (1952:17) uses the term *Ausbausprachen* 'development languages' for languages that are in some way developing into *Kultursprachen* 'culture languages'. In the 1920s Indonesian *avant la lettre* 'general Malay' was already clearly an *Ausbausprache* (cf. also Kloss 1967:29ff. – "The term *Ausbausprache* may be defined as 'language by development'. Languages belonging in this category are recognized as such because of having been shaped or reshaped, moulded or remoulded – as the case may be – in order to become a standardized tool of literary expression..."). Here, then, the concept of the *daerah* is not very relevant for the theory.

From another point of view, however, the regional aspect has had a considerable influence on the development of Malay. Administratively, the Netherlands Indies were divided into Java and Madura, and the Outer Islands. In the Outer Islands as a whole there was no dominating vernacular such as

Javanese in Java. The use of Malay for administrative purposes was vital, and the number of speakers of most vernaculars was too small for teaching the vernacular as a subject in schools. Where Malay was the only Indonesian language to be taught, it was in a stronger position than it was in Java, where many hours were spent in teaching the vernacular, either Javanese, Sudanese or Madurese. Nevertheless, in Java the administration could not abandon the use of Malay either, because of the presence of millions of Sudanese and Madurese speakers. On the other hand, all varieties of colloquial Malay in Java were heavily penetrated by Javanese elements. The rank-and-file officials had developed a tradition of various kinds of *Melayu dines* '[civil] service Malay' based on this Javanese Malay. Such *Melayu dines* was used in writing, and some manuals for officials were even produced in this jargon, as we shall see later. In spite of the regional differences most Malay varieties of the convergent type were mutually intelligible. They all shared a common Dutch influence extending back over a long period of time, not to speak of emigrant Javanese influence in the Outer Islands and that of Arabic, Chinese, Portuguese and English.

Paradoxically, of all the regions where convergent Malay gradually developed into a modern culture language, it was Java that became the leading region. The reason for this is obvious. It was in the cities of Java that the leading intellectuals met. It was they who brought contributions by the other regions to Java, as the meeting point. Many of these intellectuals had lived in the Netherlands as students. Harsja Bachtier (1975) has pointed out that, as expatriates in Holland, they functioned as one social group, as a group of natives of the Netherlands Indies. In isolation from their respective regional backgrounds, a consciousness of a common identity developed. Endeavours to promote ethnic solidarity with the help of periodicals for regional groups were unsuccessful. Neither a Javanese monthly which appeared in Amsterdam nor an association of Sumatran students established in 1919 ever flourished, whereas the supra-ethnic *Perhimpunan Indonesia* 'the Indonesian Association' was fully supported by the students. The supra-ethnic function of the Malay language became manifest in their journal. Back in Indonesia these students, with others who had studied in Java, formed the core of the new national intelligentsia who adopted Malay as the tool and symbol of national unity (for a summary see Abas 1987:158-159). This development took place on Javanese soil, in surroundings where Javanese Malay was abundantly present in everyday speech, in the press and in the official jargon. Speakers and writers from the Outer Islands, especially from Sumatra with its native Malay background, became the pre-eminent preservers of the Malay warp thread in the multicoloured and often loose texture of the newly emerging *bahasa Indonesia*.

2. THE DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION AND RELIGION AND THE CONVERGENCE OF MALAY

In the 1920s Malay as taught in the schools was identified with Riau Malay, also called Van Ophuijsen Malay because of the great authority gained by Van Ophuijsen's (1910) grammar, based on Riau or Johor Malay (p.3). However, the leading officials at the Department of Education and Religion were well aware of the fact that considerable dissimilarities existed between 'school Malay' and modern 'cultivated Malay' *beschaafd Maleisch*. This appears from a letter by the Director of Education and Religion, J. Hardeman, to the Governor-General on 20 September 1927. He reported that circles of educated Chinese, for whom the Dutch-Chinese School had been established, had objections against Malay as a school subject, because "the Malay which is taught in the Native schools and which is used in all the textbooks, is of little or no value"*. The Director himself observed that there was "a yawning gap between the Riau Malay as it is officially prescribed for the

schools and the cultivated Malay as it is used here in Java rather generally in everyday contacts, albeit with local variations, at meetings and in the press"* (quoted in van der Wal, comp. 1963:417).

We can see that the Director was well informed about the feelings of at least part of the Chinese community with regard to the value of textbook Malay, by the following quotation from an article by Kwee Tek Hoay which appeared in 1928, in which he discussed the *bahasa Melajoe rendah* or *bahasa Betawi* (Low Malay or Batavian) as commended by Lie Kim Hok: "We believe that low Malay will finally completely overcome Riau Malay, also called Melajoe Ophuijsen, which at present is still countenanced by the government"* (*dan kita pertjaja achirnja bakal kalahken dan moesnakan sama sekali bahasa Melajoe Riouw atawa Melajoe Ophuijsen jang sekarang masih dilingdoengken oleh Goevernement*) (quoted in Salmon 1981:116).

On the other hand, some leading *peranakan* Chinese educationalists and journalists, including Kwee Tek Hoay himself and the autodidact Koo Liong Ing, realised very well that there was a need for a type of school where lower-class *peranakan* children could learn to read and write Malay in order to be able to assist their parents or to find a job. In view of Kwee Tek Hoay's above-mentioned comment they were probably thinking of low Malay as a subject to be taught at such schools (Salmon 1989).

Two years later B.J.O. Schrieke, in his well-known letter to the Governor-General on 14 September 1929, wrote that it was hard to know whether the Riau Malay in the schools should be replaced by some other sort of Malay. In Java this pure Malay was not used anywhere. The advocates of replacement argued in favour of instruction in the language of the Malay and Chinese-Malay press (*de Chinees-Maleise pers*) and the Malay of official correspondence. Schrieke pointed out that both kinds of Malay were "far from identical" and that even in the native newspapers a high degree of variation ("*sterk afwijkende nuances*") occurred: "In the past decades...partly due to the growth of the various associations" ("*mede ten gevolge van het zich ontwikkelend verenigingsleven*") a Malay trade language had been developing, "which is being cultivated by the Bureau for Popular Literature [*Volkslectuur*] and some of the native press and is being propagated by a few gifted speakers at meetings". For practical reasons – no educational tools were available except those for teaching Riau Malay – and because the more modern language had "not yet been professionally studied" ("*nog geen beoefenaars heeft gevonden*"), Schrieke advised maintaining the Riau Malay: "This anyhow provides an adequate base for the understanding of any other sort of Malay"* (quoted in van der Wal, comp. 1963:491).

Thus there was recognition of the problem at the highest government level, but no solution. Nine years later this state of affairs remained unchanged. P.J.A. Idenburg, then Director of Education and Religion, wrote on 24 September 1938 to the Governor-General, in connection with the planned foundation of a Faculty of Arts, that at that time there was complete uncertainty about the development of the Malay language:

which is of such a crucial importance for the unity of our archipelago. *Volkslectuur*, with a highly commendable energy, is aiming at the development of a sort of cultural Malay, that on the one hand has to remain firmly embedded in the basic structure of the language, and on the other hand adapts itself to the needs of the modern age and offers opportunities for adopting the new developments in the language. However, the matter is far from being settled. On the part of certain linguists there is heavy criticism against the *Volkslectuur* Malay.* (quoted in van der Wal, comp. 1963:642)

This latter remark refers to the discussion between Esser and Voorhoeve in the journal *De Opwekker* of 1935 and 1936 (see Hooykaas 1939:430).

There was more than one reason for this uncertainty about the future of the Malay language among both government officials and linguists. Throughout the history of Western education in Indonesia, official policy with regard to the allocation of functions between Malay and Dutch (the only serious rival to Malay during the first decades of this century) had been a matter of dispute, and several times the pendulum of opinions caused a change in the scene. Malay in the 1920s had not yet sufficiently expanded to give full access to the Western world; this fact was realised by Indonesians and Dutch alike. But on the Dutch side most professional experts in the field of language and literature were not familiar with the linguistic implications of contact between languages and varieties, and the special position and potential of second languages. At the time linguistics concentrated less on variation in language than on structure. Traditionally the linguistic officers were trained for, and allotted, the study of vernaculars, the native languages of ethnic communities. Those of them who best understood that Malay was indeed developing into a fully fledged culture language had gained that insight from their work at Balai Pustaka or as teachers of Malay. The study of Malay grammar was primarily oriented towards educational needs and thus had a markedly prescriptive character. This holds also for the study of classical Malay (Teeuw 1959:154-155).

3. KATS AND SCHOOL MALAY

Recently Harry A. Poeze (1984) has written a biography of J. Kats, on the occasion of the republication of Kats' book of 1923 on the Javanese theatre (Kats 1984). In this he has brought to the fore an interesting piece of colonial educational policy that had fallen into oblivion, as he rightly states. Indonesianists know Kats best through his above-mentioned book and his writings on Javanese music, dance and theatre, mainly published in *Djawa*, and also through his edition of the Old Javanese *Sang hyang Kamahāyanikan*, which appeared in 1910.

Kats did not receive a university education, and in essence always remained the man he was when he arrived in Indonesia in 1897, an educator. Poeze (1984:xxii) observes that in the 1930s, after Kats' retirement, the younger and professionally trained university graduates rather looked down on the self-taught man.¹ Much later Teeuw (1961:22) judges that, from a linguistic point of view, Kats' (1919-21) Malay textbooks (*Spraakunst en Taaleigen van het Maleisch*) "are without any scientific merit". Dealing with Kats' (1921-27) Javanese textbook Uhlenbeck (1964:75) writes: "Kats employed a terminology of his own which, however, only acted as a kind of disguise for the more familiar traditional terminology, without reflecting a really different approach". As the grammatical study on which Kats had been working until 1941 never appeared (Poeze 1984:xxi), it is unknown whether Kats developed more original insights later.²

¹Professor Drewes disagrees with Poeze's view. He recollects that most of the specialists only knew Kats by name.

²Poeze has composed a bibliography of Kats' works which is included in the same volume as the biography (Poeze 1984). As far as the books intended for use in education are concerned this task was far from easy. Kats frequently revised and reorganised his textbooks. Several of the revised editions are not found in the collections and catalogues available in Indonesia and The Netherlands. Of Kats' Malay anthology *Warna Sari Melajoe I* the first edition is not relevant for our purpose as it does not contain the samples of text to be discussed in this article. It appeared in 1922. From the second edition on (Kats 1928) the non-standard Malay texts are included, with changes in the third edition (1930) and again in the fourth edition (1934). The fifth (1939) and sixth (1940, not mentioned by Poeze) editions are both unchanged. For reference I use the fourth edition (Kats 1934) which contains the text in its finally revised form. The last known edition of the Malay grammar (Kats 1919-1921) is of 1942. The Javanese grammar (Kats 1921-1927) was revised and reprinted until 1930.

What matters here is that Kats was keenly aware of the importance of variation. In 1928 he published a second edition of the first volume of his Malay anthology *Warna sari Melajoe* (Kats 1928b). It is a 200-page collection of Malay texts, for the greater part consisting of samples of non-standard Malay. Each text is followed by a translation into 'cultivated' (*beschaafd*) Malay. The texts are arranged according to three main types of social setting: (a) the 'group type', (b) the 'rank-difference type' and (c) the 'regional type'. The term 'type' is a free rendering of Kats' term *schakeering* 'variegation, gradation, shade'.

(a) The 'group type' comprises four kinds of social circles, each of which has its own characteristic language use. Kats calls these 'language circles' (*taalkringen*).

The first circle bears the Malay heading *Kaoem keloearga-Sahabat* ('Relatives and Friends'). Here children's language, the speech of young people between themselves, the speech of women, of elderly people and of children at school and at play are used.

The second circle is the wider social circle of outside contacts (*pergaoelan diloear roemah*) in the context of trade and commerce, of the office, of education, of industry, agriculture, various professions and kinds of business, but also of people meeting or visiting each other who know each other only superficially or not at all. Here Kats includes also the language of the press, of advertisements, and even of *pantuns* (traditional verses) and proverbial wisdom.

The third circle is called the 'official circle', related to the office and to the use of high Malay (*bahasa kantor – bahasa Melajoe tinggi*). This is the circle where formal, public or official varieties are used, as in speeches, during meetings, in official correspondence, in legal texts and formal documents such as letters of authority, but also in letters between relatives. The classical and modern literature is placed here too. It is this third circle, Kats says, in which the language has already taken its most definite shape and conventions.

The fourth circle comprises the 'foreigner Malay', *bahasa Melajoe tjampoeran* (mixed Malay). This is the Malay used as daily speech between the indigenous population and foreigners, and between different groups among the population who do not have the same mother tongue. Some of these mixed varieties have already gained a considerable degree of stability and "lead a vigorous life of their own", for example 'Dutch Malay' (*bahasa Melajoe Belanda*, of which samples are given from each of the three first circles), Chinese Malay (in the press and in letters), Batavia Malay (only as spoken language), Java Malay (as spoken language and in the press), Malay of the Moluccas (spoken and in the press) and Arabic Malay (used for religious subjects).

(b) Kats' second type of social setting is the contact between persons of different rank or social class (*perbedaan pangkat*). Here belongs the use of honorifics and terms of respect such as *baginda*, *daulat tuanku* (terms of address to the ruler and to royalty), *patih* 'I', *ayahanda* 'father' and several others.

(c) The third type is the regional one, comprised under the heading *berdjenisjenis logat* (several kinds of local dialects). Samples of speech are given (some very short) from Deli, Sambas, Pulau Pinang, Lubuk Bedil (in Kedah), Perak, Patani, Serawai-Besemah, Palembang and, in the Minangkabau language, from Bukit Tinggi and Payakumbuh. There are also samples of *bahasa Melajoe Malaka* 'Malacca Malay' (for which see Kats 1934:36ff.).

The majority of the samples presented by Kats have been selected from existing publications and could with a little detective work be extended. For the first circle, relatives and friends, Kats had his

students, Indonesian teachers of language, devise the dialogues. Thus these cannot be considered fully authentic registrations of natural speech.

Of course modern sociolinguists would make a different classification of the social parameters which determine the use of particular varieties. The criterion for distinguishing between the three first 'social circles' would be the situation rather than the social group to which the speakers belong. And the 'rank-difference type' is in fact also situationally determined. The fourth circle, 'mixed Malay', includes rather stable social dialects or even vernaculars which developed among groups for whom Malay as a second language became their first language, within a complicated pattern of both diglossia and bilingualism. We now also would distinguish more systematically between spoken and written language as different mediums.

In spite of such objections Kats deserves credit for compiling this survey of varieties of spoken and written Malay. In fact I do not know of any attempt to do the same for a later period. Kats' (1934) almost forgotten *Warna Sari Melajoe I* (it is not included in Teeuw's (1961) bibliography of studies on Malay and Indonesian) remains a valuable tool for the study of Malay varieties in the 1920s.

Kats was not only interested in variation in Malay. He also had a unique experience of the total linguistic situation in Java, where Javanese, Sundanese and Madurese were in contact with each other and were equally exposed to the influence of Malay and Dutch. After a ten-year period as the director of the teachers college at Mojowarno, in the service of the *Nederlandsch Zendeling Genootschap* (a Dutch Protestant missionary society), he became a government official committed to the Department of Education and Religion from 1913 on. For some time he was involved in the work of *Volkslectuur* where, for about one year from late 1916, he assessed and judged the Javanese, Sundanese and Madurese manuscripts submitted to the Committee for publication (Poeze 1984: xviii). In 1918 he was appointed a member of the Educational Council (*de Onderwijsraad*), and in the same year he was put in charge of the supplementary courses for European teachers destined for the teachers' colleges in which Indonesian teachers were trained.

The courses resulted in the establishment of the *Instituut Kats* (Institute for the furtherance of the knowledge of native languages and of the geography and ethnology of the Netherlands Indies). At the institute also the future teachers of the OSVIAs (the training colleges for native civil servants) and the future school inspectors were trained (G.W.J. Drewes 1987 pers. comm.) In addition the institute organised courses for certain officials and small groups of Indonesian teachers. Kats was its director from 1920 until 1931, the year of his retirement. In this position he was influential in the modernising of school Malay, in particular through the publication of his many textbooks. Some of these he supplied with notes indicating variants in common use in Java.

Kats' influence on government language policy can be seen from the above-mentioned (section 2) letter from the Director of Education and Religion (Hardeman) in September 1927. To support his statement to the effect that Riau Malay should be replaced as soon as possible, Hardeman referred to Kats and the *Handleiding-adviseur* 'the advisor for the manuals for native civil servants' (discussed in section 4) (G. Boswinkel). He wrote that Kats "considers it quite workable to devise a school Malay that is rooted in the living language" and that the existing textbooks should be rendered into that Malay. It was a problem, however, that "the so-called general, cultivated Malay of the school books, in [the development of] which Chinese journalists take a considerable part, as yet shows little uniformity in the way it is written and spoken"* (It is interesting to note this explicit official

recognition of the contribution made by the Chinese Malay press to the development of a general, cultivated Malay.)

Kats, together with Boswinkel and "Indigenous and Chinese collaborators" was commissioned with the task of drafting a wordlist, a grammar and further rules, to be submitted to a "committee of Indigenous (and also Chinese) intellectuals (linguists, journalists and school-teachers) for evaluation" (quoted in van der Wal, comp. 1963:417-418).

The planned wordlist was realised, but Kats' textbooks were probably never widely used. In the third, revised edition of vol.I of his *Malay grammar* (Kats 1928a), Kats reported that more attention was given to the distinction between the language of literature (*literatuurtaal*) and that of the general, cultivated Malay (*het algemeen beschaafd Maleis*). In the ninth edition of vol.I of the *Malay grammar* (Kats 1942) the "*algemeen beschaafd Maleis*" was, according to Kats consistently used (see Poeze 1984:xxxviii).

Teeuw (1972:119) has observed that the contribution of *Balai Pustaka* (*Volkslectuur*) to the standardisation and normalisation of Malay and the dissemination of this language:

might have been much more important yet, had it been permitted to occupy itself with the publishing of schoolbooks and textbooks. However, the joint power of Dutch publishing houses has effectively blocked the entering of *Balai Pustaka* into this field.*¹

Kats' textbooks had always been published by commercial publishers, mainly by Visser. Poeze (1984:xxi) records that Kats became a wealthy man as a result of the large numbers of copies of his books that were sold. But at the same time Kats made an important contribution to the development of new norms of modern Malay.

4. VOLKSLECTUUR AND CONVERGENCE IN OFFICIAL MALAY

Teeuw (1972) has studied the impact of *Volkslectuur* (*Balai Pustaka*) 'the Bureau for Popular Literature' on modern Indonesian literature, and its general influence on the growth of modern Malay is mentioned in numerous publications. Here I wish to recall an effort by the Department of the Interior in Batavia to provide the Indonesian officials in Java and Madura with practical manuals for their many tasks, the series being entitled *Handleidingen ten dienste van de Inlandse Bestuursambtenaren op Java en Madoera*, (in Malay *Pemimpin bagi Prijaji (-prijaji) Boemipoetera di Tanah Djawa dan Madoera*). These manuals appeared between 1918 and about 1926 as small booklets, at least 47 in all. There are copies of nos 1-13, 15-47 and 49 in the University Library in Leiden, with the catalogue number 2534 A 2-4; nos 14 and 48 were probably never published. The titles of the separate booklets do not occur in the catalogue. They are filed in three portfolios, in which two wordlists, *Tweede lijst van woorden* 'second wordlist' and *Derde lijst van woorden* 'third wordlist' (both without year), and a circular letter (*Nieuwenhuys 1919*) are also kept. There is also a second, revised edition of some volumes. The price varied from f 0.20 to f 0.65 in later years.

Each volume consists of a text in Dutch with a translation in Malay. The texts are legal or otherwise official regulations, often followed by an official explanation. The following is a selection of the Malay titles:

¹This matter deserves further study. When Kats first published his schoolbooks, the publishing houses in Batavia certainly did not form a cartel, as Professor Drewes pointed out to me. However, in any context of language planning a balanced cooperation between government and the commercial publishers is essential (see Moeliono 1986:56).

<i>Pemilihan Kepala-désa</i>	The election of village heads
<i>Ordonansi Padjak-Kepala dan rodi...</i>	Ordinance regarding capitation and forced labour
<i>Pengoeasaan-désa</i>	Maintaining law and order in the village
<i>Pak toeroen-temoeroen (Erfpacht)</i>	Hereditary land lease (long lease)
<i>Pekerdjaan pindjaman ra'jat</i>	The people's credit system
<i>Izin masoek dan bertempat doedoe</i>	Entry permits and residence permits for
<i>kepada orang Asing di Hindia Belanda</i>	foreigners in the Netherlands Indies
<i>Pengawasan atas Perkara mentjéak</i>	Supervision of the press
<i>Padjak atas pentjaharian</i>	Income tax
<i>Pemoengoetan Tjoekai Barang Koekoesan</i>	The levying of excise on locally distilled
<i>(arak) Hindia</i>	spirits
<i>Resi Tjandoe</i>	The State opium monopoly
<i>Ordonansi-waba dan reglemén</i>	Ordinance regarding epidemics; regulation
<i>memboewangkan toelar</i>	regarding contagious diseases
<i>Oeroesan orang gila di Hindia-Belanda</i>	Mental-health care in the Netherlands Indies
<i>Perkara agama Islam Boemipoetera</i>	Religious affairs regarding native Muslims
<i>Pengawasan atas laloe-lintas di jalan-djalan:</i>	Supervision of road traffic:
<i>(a) 'Reglemén Keréta-angin',</i>	(a) traffic rules for bicyclists,
<i>(b) 'Reglemén Motor'</i>	(b) traffic rules for motorcyclists

See Appendix 3 for the complete list. In the titles alone we discover some (then) newly-coined terms which are still in use in modern Indonesian, for example *pengawasan* 'supervision' and *lalu lintas* 'traffic'.

At the request of the Director of the Interior, *Volkslectuur* took care of the Malay translations. From the circular letter mentioned above (Nieuwenhuys 1919) we can get a clear insight into the principles of *Volkslectuur* with regard to the development of modern written Malay. The letter was an enclosure with No.9 of the manuals which appeared in 1919. The headings were "*Rondschrifven*" ('Circular Letter') for the original Dutch text and the Malay equivalent "*Soerat Édaran*" for the parallel Malay text, which was obviously translated from the Dutch.

The letter was signed by "The Assistant Resident at the disposal of the Director of the Interior, Nieuwenhuys". (This was probably J.H. Nieuwenhuys, 1872-1941, who somewhat later, from 1920-1922, was the Resident of Semarang, not to be confused with the educational specialist Dr G.J. Nieuwenhuis.) In this circular letter the author wrote that one of the Regents of Central Java had expressed the wish that, for the translation of the manuals, a more general use be made of what was known as *dienst-Maleisch* (*Melajoe-dines*). (The Malay form *dines* (from Dutch *dienst*) means 'office, duty, job'; the *Melajoe-dines* was a strongly Javanised official Malay used at the lower administrative levels, for example in police reports.)

In reply, Nieuwenhuys justified the language used by *Volkslectuur*. He argued that the *dienst-Maleisch* nowhere had a uniform quality ("*draagt nergens een uniform karakter*", "*tidak tetap bangoennja dan sifatnja*"). One has to bear in mind the general level of knowledge of Malay in Java and Madura, but it was impossible, in view of the purpose of the manuals:

...to allow for *local* deviations in the use of that language, because those deviations differ from region to region, all over Java, whereas the manuals have to serve the whole island. Thus, in continuation of the Malay that is taught at the native primary schools, and is

therefore known to the native administrative officials, the rather general Malay such as is presently used at meetings, at congresses and in the newspapers is used. This Malay is growing from day to day and refining itself in order to put into words the new concepts which the developing native society is getting acquainted with, and in order to be able to express the ideas which are taking shape with the proper differentiation.

In this process, generally speaking, the public, though partly unconsciously, is aiming at using cultivated and pure Malay as much as possible, without falling into an exaggerated purism. Therefore one cannot object to the use of that developing language, and to adding to it as far as possible those words which are already being used here and there, and which are of proven viability. Of course, when seeking for appropriate terms for partly abstract, or partly still unknown western concepts and words, one has to consult the so-called 'dienst-Maleisch', not of a particular region, however, but from all over Java, and choose such words as have already gained some public favour.*

The Malay text of the above gives an idea of the language the author had in mind:

Dalam hal menjalinkan pemimpin itoe kepada bahasa Melajoe tentoe sadja tijadalah boléh diloepekan oentoek sijapa boekoe-boekoe itoe dikarangkan dan haroes diingati pengetahoean kebanyakan orang tentang bahasa Melajoe ditanah Djawa dan Madoera; akan tetapi dalam itoe tentoe sadja tidak dapat diindahkan kelainan memakai bahasa Melajoe pada tijap-tijap tempat, sebab kelainan itoe berbédá-bédá pada tijap-tijap daérah ditanah Djawa, sedang boekoe Pemimpin itoe haroes dipergoenakan di seloeroeh poelau ini. Oléh sebab itoe bahasa Melajoe jang dipakai dalam menjalinkan pemimpin itoe ijalah bahasa Melajoe jang seolah-olah samboengan dari jang diadjarkan pada sekolah rendah Boemipoetera, ja'ni bahasa Melajoe jang bijasa terpakai sekarang dalam perkoempoelan, Congres dan dalam soerat-soerat kabar Melajoe. Bahasa itoe masih selaloe bertambah kembang dan sempoerna, tijap-tijap hari ia menerima dan mengambil kata-kata jang menggambarkan arti dan maksoed jang baharoe, jang terpakai sekarang oléh Boemipoetera jang terpeladjar, serta menjoesoen pengertian jang baharoe-baharoe itoe menoeroet sebagaimana patoetnja.

Dengan tijada selamanja diketahoei dan disengadja orang, maka rata-rata boléhlah dikatakan, bahwa haloewan ra'ijat roepa-roepanja ijalah hendak memakai bahasa Melajoe jang sehaloes-haloesnja dan sebaik-baiknya, dengan tijada berlebih-lebihan dalam hal itoe. Sebab itoe tentoe sadja tida' ada keberatan akan memakai bahasa itoe serta menambahkan kepadanja kata-kata jang telah terpakai disana sini dan roepa-roepanja akan tinggal dalam bahasa itoe. Tentoe sadja dalam mentjari kata-kata jang baik akan menggambarkan pengertian- dan perkataan Barat, jang setengahnya tijada berwoedjoed (abstract) dan setengahnya beloem diketahoei orang disini, atjap-kali dipakai kata-kata bahasa 'Melajoe dines', akan tetapi boekannja jang terpakai pada satoe daérah sadja, melainkan jang diketahoei orang diseantéro tanah Djawa dan seboléh-boléhnya dipilih jang soedah oemoem.

From the above it is apparent that in 1919 *bahasa Indonesia avant la lettre* was already expanding fast and that it was possible to trace out the main lines the further growth of the language was to follow. The process was twice dramatically accelerated: in about 1928, when *bahasa Indonesia* was proclaimed as the language of national unity; and during the Japanese occupation, when there was an abrupt disappearance of Dutch from the scene. But as far as the *norm* of the language is concerned

the trend was definitely set for a long time to come. Essentially there is no difference between Nieuwenhuys' observations in 1919, those of Schrieke in 1929, of Idenburg in 1938 and, decades later, of Moeliono (1986:54) in 1981 when he wrote:

Tentatively we may say that in Indonesian today there are two sets of competing norms. One set are those norms codified in school grammar text books and taught to the students. The other set are norms of usage which are not yet formally codified and which are used by, among others, the mass media and young writers. They are in competition because although they share many elements, there are school norms which are not followed by the media, and vice-versa.

From the heading of this section it is clear that I am not speaking here of modern Indonesian literature. Literature, in the perspective of linguistic *norm*, is often instrumental in the creation of innovations and renewal; on the other hand, as a *marked* use of the linguistic system it is based on its general norm.¹ The study of the Malay language is clearly lagging behind the study of Indonesian literature. Illustrative of a one-sided emphasis on literature – for which the linguists are to blame, not the students of literature – is Ricklefs' (1981:176) phrasing:

A new literature was growing, based upon the Malay language...As this literature developed, Indonesian intellectuals stopped calling the language Malay and instead referred to it as the Indonesian language (Bahasa Indonesia). The linguistic vehicle of national unity was thereby born.

It is often assumed that in the moulding of *Volkslectuur* Malay, translators and authors from the Minangkabau area (in West Sumatra) took an almost monopolistic position. This assumption is incorrect as far as the manuals and thus the development of the official jargon are concerned, as we can see from the final part of Nieuwenhuys' circular letter:

The translations were made in cooperation between: (a) a Javanese former civil servant who is an *H.B.S.* [the Dutch five-year high school] graduate, who has completed one year of studies for the *groot-ambtenaar* examination [which gave access to the higher ranks of the Civil Service] and who has been employed by the government during 12 years in various places in Java; and (b) an educated Malay who has been working for several years in Java and thus is familiar with the kind of Malay used here in Java. The translations also are checked, first by a former Assistant Resident and a Native Assistant School-inspector – both men are experts on Malay – and finally, very critically and accurately by the undersigned [Nieuwenhuys himself].*

The *Regeeringsalmanak* (the government's official yearbook) of 1917 and those of the succeeding years do not show, under the paragraphs dealing with *Volkslectuur*, who these translators were. In 1917, one of the two general editors for Malay, St. Moh. Zain, was from the Minangkabau, and the other, R. Soemarsono, from Java. In 1918 both general editors, H. Agoes Salim and St. Moh. Zain, were from the Minangkabau. In 1919 one was probably from Manado, this was J. Worontikan.

The publication of at least three wordlists (the first of which I have been unable to trace) indicates that there was a systematic interest in the development of vocabulary. In the second edition of some of the manuals there are shifts in terminology. For example, the meaning of the term *firman* was

¹ "...die Prosa, und...vor allem die Zweckprosa ist für den soziologischen Rang einer Sprache heute wichtiger...als die Dichtung" ("prose...particularly prose used for practical purposes, is now of greater importance for the sociological position of a language than poetry") (Kloss 1952:5).

restricted. Originally it was used to indicate a decree or order from any government authority. Later *firman* was reserved for the central government, whereas a decree of the Resident was called *besluit* (from Dutch), soon also found as *beslit*. The term *disahkan* with the meaning 'officially acknowledged' is replaced by *diakoe*. The term for 'manual' is *penoentoen* (present-day use), which replaces *pemimpin* (though *pemimpin* is still in use in Indonesian with this meaning!). In the wordlists alternatives are sometimes given side by side: 'income tax' is *padjak peroléhan* or *padjak pendapatan* (the present Indonesian term); the 'defendant' or 'accused' is *jang tertoeoeh* (present-day use) besides the older *pesakitan*, which, at least in Java, was in common use in official jargon; 'circular letter' is *pekeliling* or *soerat édarán* (present-day use), 'stamp' is *prangko* (present-day use) or *kepala radja*, ('the monarch's head'); 'the board' (of an association) is *pengoeroes* (present-day use) or *pemimpin* (which now in Indonesian means 'leader', 'guide', 'manual'); 'the Navy' is *Angkatan Laoet* (present-day use), but 'Department of Naval Affairs' is *Departement* (present-day use) – or *Departemén – Balatentara Laoet* ('Department of the Naval Forces'). Many terms are still circumscriptions, sometimes quite clumsy: the 'Immigration Service' is *Pekerdjaan pengawasan orang masoek* ('Service for the supervision of arriving persons'), 'autonomy' is *koeasa memelihara roemah tangga sendiri* ('the authority to take care of one's own household or economy'), 'personal record' is *daftar kelakoean dan ketjakapan* ('list of record of behaviour and abilities'). It is interesting to compare the wordlists with the third edition of Klinkert's (1926) Dutch-Malay dictionary, revised and updated by Spat. Many of the more technical terms are not included in Klinkert, but in some cases he comes closer to modern Indonesian: *pesakitan* and *pekeliling* do not occur.

In 1918 *Volkslectuur* had already produced the Malay translation of the Penal Code. The earliest edition available of the Malay text available to me is *Wetboek van Strafrecht* (1921), of which new editions regularly appeared. From 1920 on *Volkslectuur* was commissioned with the translation of the *Staatsblad Hindia-Belanda*, The Netherlands Indies Statute Book in which all the laws and governmental regulations were published. (A few passages taken from *Staatsblad* 1919 are shown in Appendix 4; for a report of the director of *Volkslectuur* on tasks carried out in the field of legislation see *Resultaten* 1925: 9, 13, 139.)

For our purpose a particularly interesting project in this field was the translation and ensuing revision of the *Inlandsch Reglement (Reglemén Boemipoetera)* 'Regulations for Natives'. The *Inlandsch Reglement* comprised the regulations in force in Java and Madura which were applicable to the native inhabitants of the Indies or persons having equal status. These were the regulations pertaining to the maintenance of law and order, the civil procedures and the criminal proceedings.

The *Inlandsch Reglement* had been enacted in 1848 and through the years had been frequently revised and supplemented. Here the regulations, laid down in sometimes obsolete Dutch terms, had to be implemented on the level of the village and the district with Malay as the medium of communication. As a consequence of that necessity the *Melayu dines* mentioned above was born.

Appendices 8 to 11 show how the same Dutch text was translated (with various adaptations) in 1888, in 1911, about 1919 and in 1922. The last two texts were published by *Volkslectuur*, and the text of 1922 is clearly closer (*Inlandsch Reglement/Reglemén Boemipoetera* 1922) to present-day Indonesian than the one taken from the *Volksalmanak* of a few years earlier. It was the Dutch judge F.H. Poser, in collaboration with Mas Wirapoeatra (a former public prosecutor of Sundanese origin) who made the 1922 translation of the *Inlandsch Reglement*. As appears from the introduction the type of Malay he was aiming at was very similar to what Nieuwenhuys had in mind for the manuals:

The translation was made into the Malay of modern social life (*het moderne verkeers Maleisch*), such as *Volkslectuur* has been using for some years in its publications. So Bazar Malay was not used, nor Riau Malay or any language mixed with specifically Sundanese, Javanese or Madurese words. Thus the text is equally understandable for all native educated people [*intellectueelen*].*

The 1922 edition contains a useful Malay index not found in the later reprints. At least until the end of the 1920s Poser's text was not (or only little) changed. See for example *Reglemén Boemipoetera* 1930. In what is probably the last published edition, *Reglemen Bumiputera jang dibarui* 1950 'The revised regulations for natives', we find the Malay text as it had developed up to 1941.

Although its author was not employed by *Volkslectuur*, I mention here the *Kamoes Kemadjoean* by Adi Negoro (1928), a well-known journalist who also studied for some time in Munich. The preface was written in Utrecht in 1927. In a rather reserved introduction Spat writes that the book (which is in fact a small explanatory dictionary) can be useful for the readers of Malay newspapers, and that the language deviates somewhat from that of the Malay publications of *Volkslectuur*; it is similar to the Malay of the well-known monthly *Oedaja*. Adi Negoro lists Dutch words referring to modern concepts not originally known in Indonesia; the majority of these words are Dutch borrowings from French, Latin or English. For example Dutch *abortus* 'abortion' is explained as *keloeloesan anak* 'coming off of the child' and Dutch *absentie* 'absence' as *ketidakan* 'not-being'; in present-day Indonesian *kelulusan* means 'having a miscarriage' and *ketidakan* does not exist – one says *ketidakhadiran* 'not being present (*hadir*)'.

Adi Negoro explains the meaning of the (Dutch) entry *ontwikkeling* '(general) education, development' contrasting it with Dutch *beschaving* 'civilization, culture':

Ontwikkeling: ketjerdasan, kemadjoean, djangan disamakan sadja dengan beschaving, karena beschaving jaitoe kesopanan meskipoen biasanja orang jang ada beschaving djoega ada ontwikkeling. Ontwikkeling hanya mengenai intellect atau pikiran, tetapi beschaving mengenai pikiran dan baik hati (boedi bahasa). (Ontwikkeling means intelligence, progress, not to be taken as synonymous with beschaving, because beschaving means civilized behaviour, though in most cases people who have beschaving also have ontwikkeling. Ontwikkeling only refers to the intellect or thought, whereas beschaving refers to thought and goodness (good manners).)

Apart from the spelling, this entry, written about 1927, could today count as fairly acceptable Indonesian.

5. AN ACADEMIC TREATISE IN HOL-MAL-VAANSCH

On 17 April 1927 a young and still unknown Javanese civil servant gave a lecture during the third congress of the *Inlandsche Politie Bond* (the Native Police Union) held in Bandung. His audience included, besides the Resident of Central Priangan, mainly rank-and-file police and administrative personnel, namely plain-clothed detectives, constables, superintendents, assistant district heads etc. The speaker was a *mantri politie* (superintendent) himself, a rank in the administrative hierarchy next to assistant district head. The title of the lecture was *Riwajat kepolisèn di Hindia Ollanda dengan ringkas* (A short history of the police in The Netherlands Indies).

The treatise was published in the same year by the central board of the Bond, and printed by Khouw Beng Wan in Semarang. It took up 39 pages and was followed by a short statement (p.40) in which the author explained why he had chosen his unusual presentation (*"Tjara tjaranja pengarang mengatoer 'lezingnja' ini boeat beberapa pematja pematja tentoe ada adjaib..."* 'The way I have drawn up this lecture will be rather astonishing for some readers...'*). He wanted to make his talk accessible to all those present: (*"pendengar pendengar jang beroepa dari beberapa djenis toean toean jang pengertiannja banjak berbeda"* 'the audience consisting of various kinds of gentlemen of different levels of education'*). Although he did not refer directly to the language of his talk he hinted at the particular variety of Malay he had been using which very much deviated from school Malay or from the 'general, cultivated Malay' mentioned above. Eight pages of extensive notes on the text followed and, finally, a diagram of the organisation of the police force at that time, on the last page.

The treatise begins (pp.1-3) with a somewhat traditional introduction:

The police exist for the sake of the citizen, and not the reverse. The fact that in all *desas* naughty children are frightened by saying that the *Motor Pèl* 'mounted constabulary' will come, shows how arbitrarily the police were able to proceed in former times. The work of the police is often felt as an infringement of one's personal freedom. On the other hand, from *nabi Moesa* (Moses) on, the law, as set down in the *Kitab Torèt* [a holy scripture revealed to Musa and containing the Law of God], has been necessary in order to limit freedom. In Paradise there was no crime, but after Adam and Eve had eaten of the forbidden fruit, Cain and Abel drew apart and the first manslaughter occurred. After the Flood, the dispute between Abraham and Lot and the execution of the judgement on Sodom and Gomorrah, the ban of crime followed, as worded in the Ten Commandments (*Firman ajat sepoeleoh*).

This introduction, based on religious tradition, reminds us of what Teeuw (1972:113) has observed:

It would be wrong to state that the Javanese were not interested in things current and modern – but if these were presented in a literary form, they expected such matters to be dressed in a traditional garb.

This condition being fulfilled, the author continues the narrative in a modern and academic way.

After dealing with the popular belief and customs of the Indonesian people (*bangsa Indonesia*, a term already used in Crawford (1820), Bastian (1884) and Colenbrander (1925) as is pointed out in a note), the information drawn from ancient Chinese sources and the *Nagarakertagama*, and the arrival of Islam (pp.3-13), the author discusses the VOC (Dutch East India Company) period and the *Koninkrijk Holland* (the period of Governor-General Daendels – 1807-1811). During all those centuries it remained difficult, if not impossible, for the common man to defend his rights successfully. This was particularly because of the methods used in judicial inquiries (pp.13-23).

Then the author comes (pp.24-27) to the period of the English administration (1811-1816). During that period the code for the police in Java and Madura was drawn up. This code became the basis of the *Inlandsch Reglement*, as the author points out. Corporal punishment was abolished; customary law was maintained when not in contradiction to the code. Raffles was quoted as observing that, finally, the roads in Java were as safe again as they were in 'Old England'.

Next (pp.28-39) follows an enumeration of a long series of amendments carried out after the return of the Dutch administration. In 1911 the police force came under central direction, which was

worked out further in 1914, first of all in the three large cities of Semarang, Batavia and Surabaya, the *tiga iboe kota di Djawa* 'three principal towns in Java'. The lecture concludes with a reference to the *Onderzoek naar de mindere welvaart* (a large-scale official investigation of the economic situation of the native inhabitants in Java and Madura, started in 1904), from which it is apparent that legal security and the quality of the police organisation left much to be desired, although they were now on the right track. Finally a plea is made for the common policemen of the '*Veldpolitie*' and the villagers, who were charged with the primary task of guarding others in dead of night.

The notes that follow the text give quotations from well-known Dutch textbooks and writings, such as those by G.A. van Hamel, Ph. Kleintjes, A.F. de Savornin Lohman, G.A. Wilken, C. van Vollenhoven, B. ter Haar, C. Snouck Hurgronje, J.T. Colenbrander, J.K.J. de Jonge, François Valentijn and the *Encyclopaedie van Nederlandsch Oost-Indië*. They show the author as a widely read man who had prepared his material thoroughly.

The name of the 23-year-old *mantri politie* who wrote this remarkable text is Radèn Abdulkadir Widjoatmodjo from Semarang. It was under the name Abdulkadir that he was to become a famous politician. From about 1949 on, after he had resigned and settled in The Netherlands, he used the second part of his name, Widjoatmodjo. (It is not uncommon for Javanese to change their names after a critical stage in life.) I use the names Abdulkadir or Widjoatmodjo according to the relevant period. His father was an irrigation supervisor (*mantri ulu-ulu*). As a *radèn* (male of royal ancestry) he belonged to the class of Javanese aristocracy (the *priyayi*) from which, at the time, the native civil servants were recruited. As a lower ranking officer, however, he was not entitled to send his sons to the European primary school, the ELS (*Europeesche Lagere School*). However, because Abdulkadir was interested in medical training, and at the time there were too few applicants for the STOVIA (*School tot Opleiding van Indische artsen*), the medical college for native students – the medical profession being considered by the Javanese as rather unsavoury – he was accepted at the ELS. Before finishing his studies there, he took the *klein ambtenaarsexamen* in 1916, the examination which gave access to the lower administrative ranks. His grade was "very good". But instead of entering the STOVIA he went to the OSVIA (*Opleidingsschool voor Inlandsche Ambtenaren*), the college for the training of native civil servants, at Madiun. He graduated from there in 1922.

After his years at the European school Abdulkadir had a great advantage, as far as knowledge of Dutch was concerned, compared to the students who came from the primary schools for native children with Dutch as language of instruction, HISs (*Hollandsch Inlandsche School*). However, Malay and Javanese were not taught at the ELS, and he had private lessons in these subjects for a period of three years in order to catch up. We should not overestimate the knowledge of Malay the pupils acquired at the HIS, though. For instance, there are the rather clumsy Malay letters the gifted Poerbatjaraka, who had attended the HIS at Solo, sent to the Resident of Surakarta in 1911, and later to G.A.J. Hazeu as the chairman of *Volkslectuur*: "...menerangkan jang ia ada kebisaan bag(a) bahasa Kawi" "notifying you that I am able to read Old Javanese", and "*Bersama ini hamba hoendjoek bertaoe jang soerat A...soedah saja salin di bahasa djawabaroe (Nieuw-Jav.) dengan saja tambahi sedikit (eenigszins omgewerkt)...*" 'Herewith I let you respectfully know that I have translated the A...text into Javanese in a somewhat reworded form...'. At the time Poerbatjaraka clearly knew Dutch better than Malay, as can be seen also from a letter of 24 February 1912 (Drewes 1973:483,486,489 respectively). At the HISs Malay was taught only from the fourth year, whereas Javanese lessons were given from the beginning; also later on more hours were reserved for Javanese than for Malay (see Kats 1915:133-138).

At the OSVIAs Malay and Javanese (or some other regional language) were scheduled for the first five years of the seven-year course. The subject matter for Malay comprised, among other things, the composition of letters and official reports. For Malay grammar, Sasrasoeganda's (1910) Malay adaptation of Gerth van Wijk's (1890) grammar-book was used, at Magelang, so it may be that other OSVIAs also used it. Van Ophuijsen's (1910) authoritative grammar would not have been appropriate, as it was written in Dutch and was primarily intended to be used for the training of Dutch civil servants (see p.v). Sasrasoeganda published a Malay-Javanese dictionary (*Baoesastra Mlajoe-Djawa*), in 1910 which, together with his grammar, gives an idea of the kind of Malay the OSVIA students were taught.

The problem of the norm was most acute in the production of written Malay. After many years of intensive training with Dutch both as the language of instruction and as a subject, and with most of the textbooks being written in Dutch, the influence of this language was very strong. Moreover, the idiomatically very rich Javanese, being the native language of most of the students was another source upon which was drawn in the process of moulding a modern normative language for official use. The OSVIA staff used to speak of the '*Hol-Mal-Vaansch*' (from *Hollandsch-Maleisch-Javaansch*, a mixture of Dutch, Malay and Javanese) of their students.

Many years later, in a letter to R. Roolvink, 6 April 1977, from his place of residence, Rijswijk near The Hague, Widjoatmodjo typified the language of his lecture with the same term and as "Dutch ideas presented in a Javanese-Malay version. It was the language we used in official letters, and also when making a police report". As he stated, he chose this type of speech because he wanted his talk to be as comprehensible as possible for the audience. In the same letter he wrote that after the OSVIA he "picked up Malay in practical use, from Malay-Chinese newspapers and from the Manuals of Balai Pustaka [*Volkslectuur*] for civil servants, and other Balai Pustaka publications".

I suspect that we need more insight into the social context if we wish to understand fully the implications of Abdulkadir's choice of code for his message in 1927. H. Sutherland (1979:74), in her book *The making of a bureaucratic elite* (for which Mr Widjoatmodjo provided some data – see p.x), describes the "growing cleavage in the corps (of Native Officials) between the educated elite and the under-qualified". As an OSVIA graduate, Abdulkadir belonged to that elite. The under-qualified had normally only taken the above-mentioned exam (the *klein-ambtenaarsexamen*) that, maximally and exceptionally, gave access to the rank of *assistent-wedana* 'assistant district head', a rank which Abdulkadir reached in 1927, the year in which he gave his lecture in *Hol-Mal-Vaansch*. He stood on the threshold of a brilliant administrative and diplomatic career, which would lead him – via the consulate in Jiddah (for all pilgrims from The Indies the entrance gate to the Holy Land), administrative posts in Central Java, the Faculty of Administrative Studies ('*Bestuursacademie*'), diplomatic and very special intelligence assignments abroad during the war – to the position of "the most prominent Indonesian advisor of the (Lieutenant) Governor-General", who "while being a nationalist, has remained faithful to the Crown"*, as he was characterised by Jonkman in the meeting of the Dutch Cabinet of 25 November 1946 (quoted in van der Wal, comp. 1976:375-376). At the end of his career he was appointed State Councillor for General Affairs (*Secretaris van Staat voor Algemene Zaken*) and in that capacity was the deputy for the Lieutenant Governor-General. His record could serve as a model for the *priyayi* tradition, of which van der Plas wrote in 1943:

The majority [of the *prijaji* class], even if they have nationalist aspirations and tendencies, are through their own important contribution to the building of the nation and to the advancement of the progress and the prosperity of the people, deeply convinced that the greatness of Indonesia and the Indonesians has to be realized through a peaceful

evolution, and they have confidence in the sincerity of the objectives of the government.*
(quoted in de Jong 1986:31-32)

During the Indonesian struggle for independence, Abdulkadir dedicated himself to the cause of bringing and keeping the parties together. His 'conflict avoidance' strategy contrasted with the strategy already chosen by Soekarno in the 1920s and ultimately adopted by both the Dutch and the Republic.

This look at later developments may help us to a better understanding of the situation in 1927. Abdulkadir was very well capable of using the 'general, cultivated' type of Malay, as Soekarno and other leaders of the new elite of politicians were doing. Soekarno, himself the son of a *priyayi* who had been a teacher at a school for the training of native administrators (Dahm 1969:23), through his personal charisma always had a very direct contact with his audience. As a speaker he was more concerned with the impact his words made on the masses than with the question of whether they could fully understand the content of what he was saying. M. Hatta wrote in 1931, "The people...are regarded (by Sukarno) as the necessary audience, so there will be applause when a leader makes a brave speech" and *Daulat Rakjat*, the organ of Hatta's adherents, quoted Hatta as saying: "the people must become totally infused with the spirit of Ir. Sukarno. This cannot be achieved by agitation alone, (but by giving courses)" (both quotes from Dahm 1969:129-130). (The words between brackets appear on p.126 in the Dutch version of Dahm's (n.d.) book.) It is exactly where Hatta criticises Soekarno for not *educating* the people, that Abdulkadir chooses the other line. He wants to transfer knowledge, information, to his audience. For that purpose he chooses a type of *Melajoe dines* (see section 4). It is difficult to say how Soekarno, or for example Hadji Agus Salim, who was from West Sumatra and 10 years senior to Soekarno, would have expressed themselves under the same conditions. In Appendix 5 a short text written by Soekarno in 1926 is given; the text of Appendix 6 was written by H. Agus Salim in 1917. I do not believe that it would have been impossible to present the message in a much more general, cultivated Malay, and I rather guess that it was Abdulkadir's disposition that made him apply the greatest possible convergence, in order to avoid the feeling of cleavage (pointed out by H. Sutherland) and to create an atmosphere of solidarity and fellowship. The fact that as a police officer Abdulkadir spoke exclusively *krama* and never *ngoko* when holding an interrogation (as he has told me) fits very well in here (*krama* is the speech style of Javanese used when addressing people of higher social status or people one does not know well; the *ngoko* style is used when the addressee is of lower or equal status or is known more intimately).

At all events, the publication of his lecture gives us a rare opportunity to study the process of convergence. As the analysis of the text and comparison with some other samples of text reveal, the language does not show a complete accommodation to the *Melaju dines*, nor is it independent of the norm of 'general, cultivated Malay'. It is a type of situation and speech form Hagen (1983:11) has called *ambiglossie* 'ambiglossia' when speaking of the contact between dialect and standard language:

...dialect on the one hand and standard language on the other are mutually linked via a continuum of gradual, transitional forms, so that one register is created with a high degree of variability so to say. Viewed from the poles of this continuum, ambiglossia usually means that dialect and standard language are used with mutual overlapping, and are mixed...With such a mixed language use, in which the sharpest contrasts of bilingualism are neutralized, the speaker indicates, without risking any communication gap, his convergent behaviour both towards his own group or community as well as towards the

outside society. With ambiglossia he bridges the gap between dialect and standard language, and also between *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft* [community and society]*.

A short sample of Abdulkadir's text, dealing with the discovery of a corpse, is given in Appendix 7. Four more texts on the same gloomy topic – I apologise for the choice – occur in Appendices 8–11. I have added one rather technical example (dealing with the telephone service) as Appendix 12.

Abdulkadir's text shows much greater similarity to the three *Volkslectuur* texts (Appendices 10–12) than to the typical Javanese Malay text of the *Boekoe Policie* of 1888 (Appendix 8) and to Wigger's text published in 1911 (Appendix 9) (in which the consistent use of the Jakarta Malay (Betawi) suffix *-in* is noticeable). The text of Appendices 7–11 all are based on the same official regulation in Dutch. In the case of Abdulkadir's text the regulation is probably rendered in his own wording. Apart from the stereotype term *peperiksa'an* 'interrogation' (school Malay: *pemeriksaan*) there is, in word formation, little that deviates from school Malay (sM). In the narrative sections of his text the language becomes less regular, as the following list of peculiarities and inconsistencies shows.

Spelling items include alternating *e* (schwa) and *a* in the open antepenult and in the closed final syllable, for example *kepolisén/kapolisén* 'police' (sM *kepolisian*), *dengen/dengan* 'with' (sM *dengan*) and *-ken/-kan* (a suffix) (sM *-kan*). For 'Dutch' is found *Ollanda/Wolanda/Blanda* (sM *Belanda*). Contraction of vowels occurs in *pemeliharaan* 'keeping' (sM *pemeliharaan*), *depan* (from *depa*) 'measuring' (sM *depaan*) and *kepolisén* (see above). Compared with present-day Indonesian (Ind) the following derived forms are noticeable: *terdakwa/dakwa* 'accused' (Ind *terdakwa*); *tidak terbatas* 'unlimited' (Ind *tidak terbatas*); *bertinggal* 'reside' (Ind *tinggal*); *berdapat/berpendapatan* 'to be of the opinion' (Ind *berpendapat*); *pendapatan* 1. 'opinion' 2. 'result' (Ind 1. *pendapat* 'opinion', 2. *pendapatan* 'income', 'invention'); *berpencurian* 'robbed' (Ind *kecurian*); *berkantoran* 'having offices' (Ind *berkantor*); *papriksaan/peperiksa'an* 'interrogation' (Ind *pemeriksaan*); *pepintahan* 'government' (Ind *pemerintah*); *paresidénan* 'Residency' (Ind *keresidenan*); *kemilikan* 'property' (Ind *milik*); *orang djahat perampokan* 'robber' (Ind *perampok*); *memadjakkan* 'levy taxes on s.o.' (Ind *memajaki*); *sidangan* 'session' (Ind *sidang*); *péndékan* 'in short' (Ind *pendeknya*); *merobahkan/memperobahkan/dirobah* 'change/changed' (Ind *merobah/mengubah/dirobah/diubah*); *memperlindoengi* 'protect' (Ind *melindungi*); *akan asingkan* 'will remove' (Ind *akan mengasingkan*); *jang periksa* 'interrogator' (Ind *yang memeriksa*); *merintah* 'rule, govern' (Ind *memerintah*); *milih* 'choose' (Ind *memilih*); *mimpin* 'lead, guide' (Ind *memimpin*). In some loanwords from Dutch the Dutch plural ending retains its function: *korpsen* 'corpses, forces' (from Dutch singular *korps*); *rechercheurs* 'plain-clothes detectives' (from singular *rechercheur*); *agenten* 'constables' (from singular *agent*).

With regard to syntax, *ini* and *itoe* are sometimes (not always) placed before the word they qualify: *Ini Congres* (Ind *Congres ini*) *adalah congres boeat Pegawai Politie* 'this is a congress for police officers'. The word *ada* is sometimes used as a copula: *kedjahatan ada* (Ind *adalah*) *barang jang toea* 'crime is already old'. The word *dari* is often the direct rendering of Dutch *van*: *ontwerp begroting dari* (Ind zero or *untuk*) *tahoen 1896* 'the Budget Bill for 1896'; *formatie baroe dari adanya pegawai politie* (Ind doesn't have *dari adanya*) 'the new composition of the police forces'. Very frequent is *-nja* as a ligature (Ind has no *-nya*; compare Javanese *-é*): *riwayatnja kepolisén* 'history of the police'; *pengadoeannja kepalanja* 'charges brought by his village head'; *di Tomo dekatnja Karangsabung* 'at Tomo near Karangsabung'; *kekoerangannja perlindoengan* 'inadequate protection'. The word *sesudahnja* 'after' is regularly used as a conjunction (compare Javanese *sawisé* 'after'; Ind *sesudah*). The now obsolete *bahasa* 'that' used as a conjunction occurs together with *jang*: *bahasa jang* 'that'

(compare Minangkabau *bahaso* 'that'; Ind *bahwa*). Also *kalau* is used where Indonesian now has *bahwa*: *mengakoe kalau* 'admit that' and *berpendapatan kalau* 'being of the opinion that' (compare Javanese *yèn* 1. 'if', 2. '[to say, etc.] that').

There are some striking cases of loan translations based on Dutch: *perbaikan politie tidaklah ditjari dalam perobahan oemoem dari keadaan jang telah ada* (compare Dutch *de verbetering van het politie-apparaat werd niet gezocht in een algehele wijziging van de bestaande toestand*) 'the improvement of the police organisation was not undertaken on the basis of a change in the general situation'; *begitoe mengherankan tidak ini keadaan, sebab politie dinegri Blanda poen di itoe waktue tidak lebih baiklah*, (compare Dutch *zo verwonderlijk is deze toestand niet, want de politie in Nederland was in die tijd niet beter*) 'this situation is not surprising, because even the police in Holland was not better at that time'; *disinilah kita datang pada achiran lezing* (compare Dutch *hiermede zijn wij gekomen aan het einde van deze lezing*) 'now we have arrived at the end of this lecture'.

6. KOINEISATION

Some 35 years have passed since Weinreich's famous book on languages in contact gave a new impetus to the study of variation in language (Weinreich 1953). In the field of non-Western languages, many of which have been in contact with a dominant European language in the course of colonial history, much research has been carried out on the phenomenon of pidginisation and creolisation. From Mühlhäusler's (1986) survey of those studies it is apparent that there is as yet no satisfactory and generally accepted definition of the concept of 'pidgin'. With regard to creoles everybody seems to agree that these are pidgins, or at least some sort of incipient languages, that have developed into the first language of a speech community. We know much less about the processes which led to the development of trade languages or lingua francas. Characteristically a lingua franca is used over a wide area, where it is in most cases a second (if not a third etc.) language for its speakers, and though it may have many local varieties it is intuitively considered to be one and the same language. These conditions apply perfectly to Malay as a lingua franca. Hooykaas' (1939:408,417) approach was correct when he used the term 'Maleisch' 'for everything that is trying to pass for Malay or pretend to be Malay'*, and when he rejected the distinction between 'High' and 'Low' Malay as being one between two different languages. Whereas pidgins result from the contact between at least two different languages, one of which is often very dominant, this is not normally the case with lingua francas. When lingua francas grow into culture languages or even national languages, as has been the case with Malay, their uniformity, standardisation and expansion evolve from a process of contact between varieties of the same language. Recent and ongoing research into the history of Western standard languages focusses a great deal on the same type of processes. Sociolects, regional standard varieties, *Umgangssprache* as a variety between local dialect and the national standard language, are current topics. Studies that deal with the access that different social groups have to an active command of the standard language, and the processes of convergence involved in it (such as Ammon 1973, and Hagen 1981, both with extensive bibliographies) are very pertinent to the problem of the development of Indonesian. At the same time they make us aware of the fact that the history of Malay as a lingua franca is still largely unknown territory.

This is why the publication of Siegel's (1987) book *Language contact in a plantation environment: a sociolinguistic history of Fiji* is a welcome surprise. The complex history of immigration in Fiji induces the author to study the 'life cycle' of some individual pidgins and to elaborate on the characteristics of pidginisation and creolisation. For the study of Malay, although neither Malay nor

Indonesian are referred to in the book, Chapter 9 is of particular interest. It deals with the development of Fiji Hindustani in terms of a process of koineisation. Here follows a brief summary of the ideas set forth in Siegel (1987).

A koine is defined as: "a stable linguistic variety which results from contact between varieties which are subsystems of the same linguistic system. Linguistically it is characterized by a mixture of features of the contributing varieties, and most often by comparative formal simplicity. Functionally, it originally serves as a lingua franca among speakers of the contributing varieties, but may later become a primary language" (p.187). Siegel assumes that koineisation involves the emergence of a new compromise dialect as a result of dialect mixing. The new dialect is used as a new lingua franca among speakers of the original varieties (p.187). At the initial stage of koineisation dialect levelling may occur (p.188), that is, "the original dialects in contact remain and become more and more like one another" (p.187). It is increased interaction and the need for unification which cause koineisation (p.188). "A pidgin is a possible participant in the koineization process" as it "can be considered a subsystem of its principal lexifier language" (p.196). Koinés (unlike pidgins) "are never structurally discontinuous from their linguistic parents and are mutually intelligible with them" (p.200). There is also a difference in the social contexts: "Koineization requires free social interaction...whereas pidginization results from restricted social interaction. Another difference is the time factor. Pidginization is most often considered a rapid process, in response to a need for immediate and practical communication. In contrast, koineization is usually a process which occurs during prolonged contact between speakers who can almost always understand each other to some extent" (p.200).

There are four possible stages in the development of a koine: the pre-koine stage (various forms of the subsystems in contact are used concurrently); stable koine; expanded koine, for example, as a literary or a standard language; nativised koine (as the first language for a group of speakers). "Nativization...can occur after any of the first three stages of development" (p.201). When it occurs immediately after the pre-koine stage, stabilisation and expansion are part of it (p.201). Siegel points out that continued contact with the original varieties, or contact with different varieties, can result at any stage in 'rekoineisation'. Furthermore, different groups of speakers may use the same koine in different stages of its development, as may be the case in urban centres, where "recent immigrants may speak varieties at the pre-koine stage, while the majority of the long-term immigrants speak a stabilized version and their children a nativized one" (p.202).

It seems to me that Siegel's book provides us with a very good frame of reference for studying Indonesian, and 20th century Malay as Indonesian *avant la lettre*, as the result of a process of koineisation, rather than of creolisation (in Mühlhäusler 1986:88, though only in passing, Indonesian is still listed among the pidgins or creoles). A preliminary condition for such a study is, of course, that we must carefully study every Malay 'subsystem' involved in the process of koineisation. Written sources are sufficiently available and in some cases include relatively natural dialogues. The few samples of text given in the appendices give some idea of the variation in official language; much more varied material can be found in the press.

Tentatively, the following parallels between the emergence of modern Indonesian and the koineisation process described by Siegel for Fiji Hindustani can be suggested: except for the 'diverging' local Malay vernaculars as discussed in section I, all sorts of Malay, written and oral, should be considered as varieties ('subsystems') of one Malay diasystem which is involved in the process of koineisation; since the 1920s, at least one relatively stable and already somewhat expanded variety of non-narrative prose has been gaining recognition as 'general, cultivated' Malay;

contributing varieties were minimally the school Malay, the Malay of the Chinese and Indonesian press, the Malay used by *Volkslectuur*, official Malay and Malay used at meetings, classical and modern Malay literature of various traditions and styles (cf. Teeuw 1967:9-29); religious Malay (Muslim and Christian); Malay used in letter writing; several varieties of spoken Malay, including bazaar Malay.

The criterion of 'relative formal simplicity' is not easy to apply. In any case it would require a language-specific definition of 'simplicity'. Compared with Hindustani, for example, Malay in *all* its varieties has a simple set of affixes. However, there is a type of simplification which is realised by overgeneralisation, that is, by applying rules too generally. Such cases as *bertinggal* 'reside', *memperbahkan* 'change', *memperlindoengi* 'protect' in Abdulkadir's lecture (see section 5), and *pelukaan* 'injury' in Appendix 10 seem to me to be examples of that phenomenon. Parallel cases can be observed when uneducated speakers try to use the standard forms, or when foreigners are learning Indonesian (see Richards 1978 for an interesting self-analysis by a professional linguist).

Both dialect mixing and dialect levelling (the latter probably especially in the Chinese press) can be found. The new variety is indeed used as a lingua franca all over Indonesia, and increased interaction as well as the need for unification are characteristic for the period. If we consider the sample of *Javaansch-Maleisch* 'Javanised Malay' of 1897 (Appendix 1) as pidginised Malay, the affixation at least seems to point to contact with 'standard' Malay and to participation in the process of convergence. None of the varieties mentioned above is structurally discontinuous from any other variety we include in the diasystem. In the 1920s the general social context of written (not always of spoken) communication is free social interaction. In terms of the time factor, the process is one of centuries rather than of decades. Throughout some three centuries at least there has existed a high degree of mutual intelligibility between the major varieties of Malay. The question of nativisation must, for modern Indonesian, be studied together with the phenomenon of diglossia (cf. Moeliono 1986:49-53). In the 1920s there were *peranakan* 'Indonesia-born' Chinese whose primary language was Malay. Did the variety they spoke participate in the process of koineisation? And what about Malay-speaking Indonesians (apart from those speaking a Malay vernacular)? That rekoineisation in Java had already occurred by 1928 seems not very probable, but it may have happened in an area like the Minahasa. In her recent PhD thesis Geraldine Manoppo (1983) describes a process of convergence between two varieties of Malay: the literary variety used in school and in church by the Protestant missionaries in the interior mountain areas, and therefore called *Melayu Gunung* 'Mountain Malay', and the colloquial variety used as a contact language in the coastal areas. In the contact between these varieties a third variety came into being, which she found in the newspaper *Tjahaja Sijang* (1869-1900). If this indeed became a stable local koine, it may have become involved in a further process of koineisation in contact with the 'general, cultivated' Malay of the 1920s. Finally, what Siegel observes about possible developments in urban centres deserves our full attention. Is there any chance that, for example, 'Jakartanese' will become sufficiently stable and generally accepted as a spoken variety of Indonesian to make a major contribution to a generally spoken 'low' variety all over Indonesia, in terms of a diglossia situation? Fortunately that question had not yet been raised in the period discussed in this paper.¹

¹I wish to express my sincere thanks to Mr R. Abdulkadir Widjoatmodjo for the privilege of discussing with him the linguistic and social situation at the time he gave his lecture. For the interrelations given I alone am responsible. I also thank Dr R. Roolvink for bringing Mr Widjoatmodjo's text to my attention. Professor Drewes has kindly read a draft of this essay. I owe to him several valuable additions and corrections.

APPENDIX 1. *Contrôle op de repartitie...* 1897:241.

The following is a sample of Javanese Malay containing regulations for determining the amount of land revenues and for collecting various taxes to be paid by the peasants in a particular district.

Papriksaan di desa hal pembagian padjeg boemi dan pembajaran roepa-roepa padjeg.

1e. *Kapan legger padjeg boemi soedah di tetep, Wedono mendapet bertaoe dari Controleur bakoemja padjeg satoe bersatoe desa. Wedono lantah bertahoeken itoe bakoe padjeg pada loerah-loerah bersama kassi prentah bakoe padjeg di bagi di dalem desa bersama remboegnja orang tani dalem 14 ari.*

2e. *Kapan remboegan bagi padjeg itoe soedah slesih tjarik desa membikin register pembagian, dan sasoedahnja loerah rapport pada Wedono atawa Assistent-Wedononja.*

3e. *Wedono atawa assistent-Wedono menetep satoe ari orang tani di koempoelken dalam desa dan dateng pada ari itoe di desa boewat bertahoeken pembagian padjeg pada orang-orang tani dan tanjak apa dia orang soedah moefakat bersama pembagiian itoe. Kapan orang tani beloem moefakat Wedono atawa Assistent-Wedono remboeggi pembagian padjeg bersama dia orang sampee mendjadi senengja dia orang.*

APPENDIX 2. Kenangan [1958]:140-141. (Text: 1858). ("Tiga koran tertua...")

"Bahoewa kita Toewan Lange dan sekoetoe-nja, jang memegang toko boekoe di Batawie, memberi chabar kepada segala orang di Batawie dan di koeliliengan tanah Djawa dan poeloe-poeloe bilangan tanah Hindia Nederland, jang kita nantie kasih kloewar satoe soerat chabar, temama Soerat Chabar Batawie, tiap-tiapharie Saptoe"

"Ini soerat chabar nantie di tjitaq saparo dengan hoeroef Walanda, saparo dengan hoeroef Malajoe. Maka bahasanja inie soerat chabar tiada terlaloe tinggi, tetapi tiada lagi terlaloe rendah, soepaija segala orang boleh mengarti, siapa djoega jang mengarti bahasa Malajoe, adanja. Maka barang kali kita masoq-kan soerat pengadjaran, maka di sitoe kita nantie membahasa Malajoe tinggi, tetapi kita harap nantie menjatakan artienja di dalam bahasa Malajoe rendah..."

APPENDIX 3. SERIE "PEMIMPIN BAGI PRIJAJI BOEMIPOETERA DI TANAH DJAWA DAN MADOERA" (= *Handleiding*)

Nomor:		Harganja
1/B.B.	Pemilihan Kepala-désa	f 0.20
2/B.B.	Ordonansi-Padjak-Kepala dan Rodi di tanah Djawa dan Madoera	" 0.20
3/F.	Padjak atas Pentjaharian	" 0.20
4/B.B.	Pengoewasaan-désa	" 0.20
5/B.B.	Permoelaan-kata tentang Hoekoem-tanah dan Ordonansi Pemboekaan Tanah	" 0.30
6/F.	Padjak-potong:	
	a. Pemotongan ternak-besar (héwan-besar),	
	b. Pemotongan babi	" 0.20
7/B.B.	Pak toeroen-temoeroen (Erfpacht):	
	a. Pertanian-besar,	
	b. Pertanian-kecil dan	
	c. Taman-perdijaman dan Roemah-taman	" 0.30
8/B.B.	Ketentoeantentang mendirikan Pabrik-pabrik dan Tempat bernijaga di daérah Hindia-Belanda dan Reglemén-Keselamatan	" 0.30

9/B.B.	Dari hal Pajak-tanah dan empang (tebat ikan) di tanah Djawa dan Madoera	"	0.30
10/J.	Izin masoek dan bertempat doedoek kepada orang Asing di Hindia-Belanda	"	0.35
11/L.N.H.	Ketentoean tentang Pekerdjaan-kehoetanan	"	0.40
12/J.	Memasoeakkan kerdja dan memindahkan Boemipoetera ke negeri lain	"	0.40
13/O.E.	Ordonansi-waba dan reglemén memboewangkan toelar	"	0.50
[14]	[Probably never appeared.]		
15/B.B.	Pemberian tanah Negeri: a. sebagai tanah eigendom; b. dengan hak-opstal; c. dengan hak-opstal atau hak-pakai akan mensahkan pemakaian tanah tidak dengan salah soewatoe hak oléh orang jang tidak masoek bangsa Boemipoetera jang koerang mampoe dan jang tidak mampoe; d. dengan hak lain-lain jang koerang loewas koewasanja daripada hak-eigendom	"	0.35
16/B.B.	Ordonansi Penjéwaan-tanah	"	0.40
17/B.B.	Ordonansi sereh (serai) Ordonansi paberik dan beberapa ketentoean jang bersangkoetan dengan oesaha pekerdjaan-tanah parti-koelir	"	
18/B.B.	Beberapa perkara-désa	"	0.50
19/L.N.H.	Pengoewasan Negeri atas pengobatan héwan	"	0.35
20/O.E.	Oeroesan orang gila di Hindia-Belanda	"	0.30
21/L.N.H.	Ordonansi penjakit gila-andjing: Instituut-Pasteur di Weltevreden; Pajak-andjing	"	0.45
22/F.	Pemoengoetan Tjoekai Barang Koekoesan (arak) Hindia	"	0.25
23/G.B.	Ordonansi-minjak-tanah	"	0.40
25/B.B.	Barang-barang peletoepe	"	0.20
26/B.O.W.	Pengawasan atas laloe-lintas di djalán-djalan a. Reglemén Keréta-angin; b. Reglemén Motor	"	0.50
31/J.	Pengawasan atas Perkara mentjéjak	"	0.25
32/M.	Dari hal palajaran kapal	"	0.35
33/F.	Resi Tjandoe	"	0.65
34/L.N.H.	Peratoeran tentang menternakkan héwan <i>dan</i> koeda sertaketentoean-ketentoean jang berhoeboeng dengan itoe	"	0.50
35/B.B.	Pekerdjaan pindjaman ra'jat	"	0.70
36/O.E.	Pengadjaran oentoek Boemipoetra	"	
37/O.E.	Perkaraagama Islam Boemipoetera	"	0.65
38/F.	Pekerdjaan Roemah Gadai	"	0.30
39/G.B.	Ketentoean-ketentoean <i>tentang pekerdjaan</i> Pos, Kawat <i>dan</i> Talipon	"	0.55
40/G.B.	Oendang-oendang tambang ditanah Hindia Belanda	"	0.25
41/G.B.	Postspaarbank di Hindia Belanda	"	0.45
42/F.	Bia ségel d.l.l.	"	0.25

43/J.	Ta'loek dengan soeka hati sendiri kepada hoekoem sipil dan hoekoem perniagaan bangsa Eropah dan beberapa ketentocan lain tentang Hoekoem sipil dan Hoekoem Negeri		
44/B.B.	I. Mengoebahkan milik désa menjadi milik poesaka sendiri-sendiri II. Mengganti milik poesaka sendiri-sendiri dengan eigendom III. Mendaftarkan <i>dan</i> memindahkan hak eigendom serta mendaftarkan hipjotheek tanah, jang diperoléh oléh Boemipoetera menjadi tanah eigendom	"	0.40
45/B.B.	Ketentoean tentang mengoeboerken majat di Hindia Belanda dan peratoeran lain-lain jang berhoeboengan dengan itoe		
46/F.	Perponding	"	0.65
47/F.	Padjak Roemah Tangga		
[48]	[Probably never appeared.]		
49/B.O.W.	Perboeatan Negeri		

Barang siapa hendak membeli atau memesan kitab-kitab jang terseboet itoe, hendaklah soerat pesanan bersama dengan oeang harga kitab itoe, di'alamatkan kekantor *Commissie voor de Volkslectuur* ("Balai-Poestaka") di *Wetevreden*. Memesan seboeah atau tiga boeah sama sekali, haroeslah ditambahi harga 5 sên lagi, goenanja oentoek memboengkoes dan oentoek ongkos mengirimkannya.

APPENDIX 4. Kats 1934:96-97.

Staatsblad Hindia-Belanda. 1919 No. 560. *Persediaan Makanan*. *Oepaja goena persediaan makanan diperoesahaan (Kontrakan) tempatkoeli-koeli bekerdja menoeroet boenji soeatoe ordonansi koeli*.

Pasal 1. Kepala daérah berkoeasa akan menetapkan banjaknja beras (ditambah atau tidak dengan barang makanan lain-lain) jang pada timbangannya boléh dipandang tjoekeop akan memberi makanan pada orang-orang jang lagi bekerdja pada seorang toean Keboen (pemberi kerdja) dalam satoe témpoh jang tentoe, jaitoe oentoek orang-orang jang bekerdja menoeroet boenji soeatoe ordonansi koeli.

Pasal 2. (1) Toean Keboen wadjib mendjaga socpaja kepada koeli-koelinja djangan diberi beras banjaknja lebih dari banjak jang terseboet pada pasal 1, baik dengan tiada bajaran, baik dengan dibajar atau dengan didjelaskan dengan oepah oeang jang telah didjandjikan, baik selakoe oepah.

(2) Kewadajiban itoe ditanggoengkan djoega atas pengoeasa atau toean besar keboen.

Pasal 6. Ordonansi ini moelai berlakoe pada keésokan hari mengoendangkannya. Dan soepaja djangan seorangpoen dapat berdalih tiada mengetahoei ordonansi ini, maka ia akan dimoeatkan dalam Staatsblad tanah Hindia-Belanda dan sekadar perloe salinnja dalam bahasa anak negeri dan bahasa Tjina akan ditémpélkan pada sebarang tempat djoega.

APPENDIX 5. Sukarno 1963:30. (Suluh Indonesia Muda 1926).

Riwayat emigrasi mengadjarkan pada kita, bahwa cmigrasi itu hanjalah bisa terdjadi dengan sungguh-sungguh, djikalau segala sumber penghidupan dinegeri sendiri memang sudah tertutup sama sekali adanya. Akan tetapi, bilamana emigrasi itu sudah terdjadi; bilamana pada sesuatu masa beratus-ratus ribu atau berdjuta-djuta rakjat sudah sama meninggalkan negerinja untuk mentjari penghidupan dinegeri lain, maka riwayat-dunia menundjukkan, bahwa aliran rakjat-pindah itu pada suatu ketika berhenti pula. Sebab dalam pada itu, negeri sendiri lalu berobah pula. Dalam pada itu, negeri sendiri lalu

mengadakan perobahan dalam tjaranja mentjari rezeki: mengadakan perbaikan tjara bertani, mengadakan perbaikan pertukangan (nijverheid); dan mulailah dalam negeri sendiri itu timbul suatu kepabrian (industri), jang memberi kerdja dan penghidupan pada bagian rakjat jang masih "lebih", schingga "kelebihan" rakjat ini seolah-olah diisap lagi oleh pergaulan hidup dinegeri sendiri lahadi adanja. Kita mengambil peladjaran dari riwayat-dunia, bahwa semua emigrasi itu terdjadinja ialah dalam masa, jang mendahului suburnja tjara pentjaharian rezeki atau suburnja kepabrian dalam negeri dari rakjat jang beremigrasi itu.

APPENDIX 6. Djedjak Langkah 1954:28. (Neratja 1917). (Author: Hadji Agoes Salim).

Adakah kebadjikannja djika dipisahkan anak perempuan dari pada anak laki-laki untuk bersekolah? Dalam sekolah anak-anak harus diberi pendidikan badan, hati dan akal budi, jaitu badannja supaja bertambah subur, kuat dan elok, hatinja supaja bertambah baik, yakni bertambah baik budipekerti dan bertambah sopan-santun laku-budinja, akal supaja bertambah banjak kepandaian dan pengetahuannja. Dalam tiga perkara ini tentu sekali tak ada perbedaan antara perempuan dan laki-laki, melainkan samalah perlunya bagi kedua-duanja. Adapun tiga perkara itu harus diusahakan supaja sianak jang diadjar itu menjadi tjakap dan pandai melakukan kewadibannja sebagai manusia didalam dunia kelak. Maka baik bagi laki-laki maupun perempuan amat perlu sekali keutamaan dalam tiga perkara itu dan sekali-kali tidak berbedaan. Apabila gadis sudah besar dan sudah meninggalkan sekolah, maka pada pendapat orang banjak, ia harus bersuami, jaitu tidak perlu mentjari penghidupan seperti orang laki-laki. Oleh sebab itu perempuan tak perlu diberi pengadjaran sama banjak dengan laki-laki. Akan tetapi pada pendapat kita pikiran itu sesat semata-mata. Sekalipun kita umpamakan sekalian perempuan mendapat djodoh tidak djuga kurang perlu baginja ketjerdasan, kepandaian dan ketjakapan. Sisuami harus bekerdja akan mentjari penghidupan bagi anak isterinja, akan tetapi siisterilah jang harus memegang belandja, mengemudikan rumah tangga dan mendidik serta mengadjar anak.

APPENDIX 7. Abdulkadir Widjoatmodjo 1927:25-26.

Dikalau ada kepala merapportkan majit terdapat, maka kepala divisie menoendjoekkan satoe komissie dari tiga kepala desa, jang dengan satoe ambtenaar memboeat peperiksa'an jang selesih, sedang rapportnja haroes dengan sigera dikirimkan kepada Boepati. Kalau ada orang jang terdakwa, dengan radjin kepala divisie haroes berichtiar tjari keterangan dan tangkap pada pendjahat. Tiap-tiap hari Senen Boepati merapportkan keada'an district kepada resident, sedang saban 6 boelan sekali di [a] atoerkannja rapport pandjang. Boepati haroes menjelidiki kelakoean kepala divisie, desadan lain-lain pegawai, apa bila lalai kepada pekerdja'annja atau bersalah haroes mengatoerkan rapport kepada resident. Apa bila regent terima soerat peperiksa'an, maka Boepati melandjoetkan peperiksa'an pada djaksa dan pengoele oentoek pertimbangan. Kita lihat ketentoean ini kita bertemoie kembali maoepoen dengan perobahan dalam Inlandsch Reglement jang masih berlakoe, boekan?

APPENDIX 8. Boekoe Policie 1888:7-9.

11.17 Kaloe orang dapet bangkenja orang dan tiada taoe sebabnja mati atawa kaloe bersangka itoe perkara nanti tida trang maka Kepala dessa di itoe tempat misti lantas dateng di tempatnja itoe bangke dan kaloe dia soeda priksa ka'ada'annja itoe bangke dia misti lantas soeroean kasi taoe pendapettannja kapada Kepala district dan lagi dia misti soeroe djaga itoe bangke sampe datengnja Kepala district soepaia djangan ada ljang berobah dan misih sama sadja seperti temponja bangke baroe terdapat, ja itoe selainnja jang di perentahken di dalam Fatsal 19.

Kaloe tiada ada orang tahoe itoe bangkenja siapa. Kepala dessa di itoe tempat misti lantas soeroe kabarken kapada kapala kepala[sic] dessa jang deket deket di sitoe dari perkara dapetnja itoe bangke dan tanda tandanja.

13.19 Kaloe itoe orang jang roepanja soeda mati di kira kira misih idoepp maka misti di boeat segala akal jang baik dan perloeaken mengidoepken dialagi dan brapa bolih misti lantas minta pertoeoengannja dokter.

14.20 Kaloe ada orang teranjoet atawa tenggelem di dalem aer maka misti dengan lekas di angkat dari dalem aer dan kaloe ada tanda beloen mati maka misti di bocat begimana jang soeda terseboet di atas, maski Kepala dessa atawa lain prijaji polisie beloen dateng di itoe tempat maka misti di boeat dengan lekas apa jang terseboet di atas kaloe ada tanda itoe orang beloen mati.

APPENDIX 9. Wiggers, comp. 1911:11-14.

17 Apa bila ada orang dapetin mait orang, maka kepala-kepala dessa di tempat itoe, djikaloe tida ketawean sebabnja kematian itoe, atawa ada orang jang di terka, lantas misti ia dateng katempat itoe bangke dan kaloe soedah dia priksa ka-ada-annja itoe mait lantas dia misti kabarin segala pendapatannja kapada kepala district, sedang ia kasi kabar itoe, dia misti soeroeh djaga itoe mait sampe pada datengnja kepala district, socpaja segala ka-ada-annja mait itoe di dapetin tida brobah seperti tadi, adapoen dengan mengingat djocga prentah jang terseboet dalam futsal 19. (Sv. 36; Inl. R. 2,8,14,21,33,41,42). (2). Djikaloe mait jang terdapat itoe tida di kenalin orang maka itoe kepala desa misti kasi kabar kapada kepala dessa jang dekat-dekat di sitoe dari hal kedapatan itoe mait dengan semoewa tanda jang bisa bikin itoe mait dikenalin orang. (I.R. 2,8,14,21,33,41 d.b. Tabel 242).

19 Djikaloe kira misih bole bikin idoepp lagi orang itoe jang di sangka soeda tida ada lagi njawahnja maka menoeroet bagimana ka-ada-annja hal di sitoe orang misti tjari akal jang pantes dan jang baik dan misti di djaga, dan sebrapa bole misti lantas panggil dokter boewat kasi toeloengannja (I.R. 2,17,42; Tabel 244 Sv. 35).

APPENDIX 10. Kats 1929a:223. (Maleische Volksalmanak 1918) (?).

6. Djikalau kedapatan majit jang tidak tentoe sebab matinja atau menerbitkan sjak, segeralah kepala perkampoengan pergi ke tempat majit itoe, dan memeriksa dahoele hal keadaannja, laloe ia segera memberitakan pendapatannja kepada kepala distrik; sementara menantikan kedatangan kepala distrik itoe, diseroehnja djagai majit itoe; dalam pada itoe ia haroes berdaja-oepaja dengan sepatoeinja, dan meminta pertolongan doktor (tabib) djika ada, akan menghidoeppkan kembali akan badan jang seroepe mati itoe, kalau-kalau barangkali masih ada bernjawa. Djikalau kedapatan orang lemas didalam air, hendaklah ditjari daja-oepaja akan menghidoeppkan kembali orang itoe, kalau-kalau masih ada bernjawa, dan djanganlah dinantikan kedatangan kepala perkampoengan atau pendjawat poelisi jang lain. Djika terdjadi pemboenohan jang disengadja, atau pemboenohan jang tiba-tiba, peloeakan parah, api (baik disebabkan kedjahatan atau tidak), reboet-rampas, pentjoerian dengan membongkar atau petjah-pintoe, dan lain-lain perboeatan djahat, jang meninggalkan bekas, hendaklah kepala kampoeng pergi ke tempat kedjadian itoe, dan melakoekan segala daja-oepaja dan oekoer-alit jang perloe, laloe memberitakan hal itoe kepada kepala distrik.

APPENDIX 11. Handleiding 45/BB 1922:42-47. Published by Volkslectuur.

Art.17 Wanneer een lijk gevonden wordt, zal het betrokken dorpshoofd, indien de oorzaak van den dood onbekend is of verdacht voorkomt, zich terstond begeven naar de plaats waar zoodanig lijk zich bevindt, en na den staat van [het] hetzelfde voorlopig onderzocht te hebben, dadelijk van zijne bevinding kennis doen geven aan het districtshoofd, terwijl hij tot aan diens komst het lijk zal doen bewaken, opdat alles zoo lang onveranderd blijve in

Djika terdapat orang mati dan tidak ketahoean atau ada sjak hati tentang sebab kematian orang itoe, maka haroeslah kepala désa jang bersangkoetan dengan sergera pergi ketempat adanja majat itoe, dan sesoedah diperiksanya dahoele keadaan majat itoe haroeslah ia dengan segera memberi tahoean pendapatannja kepada kepala distrik, serta menjeroeh mendjaga majat itoe sampai datangnja kepala distrik, soepaja segala hal ihwal jang terdapat

den staat waarin het gevonden is; behoudens evenwel het bepaalde bij artikel 19.

Indien het gevonden lijkt dat van eenen onbekende is, zal hij de hoofden der naburige dorpen dadelijk doen kennis dragen van de plaats gehad hebbende ontdekking en van de kenteekenen van het lijk.

Art. 19 Indien de mogelijkheid schijnt te bestaan, dat er nog leven is in het zich als levenloos voordoende ligchaam, zullen de naar den aard der omstandigheden meest gepaste middelen en voorzorgen worden aangewend en zoo mogelijk de hulp van eenen geneeskundige dadelijk worden ingeroepen.

sementara itoe tiada beroebah, ketjoeali dalam hal jang terseboet dalam pasal 19.

Djika majat jang terdapat itoe majat orang tiada terkenal, maka kepala désa haroes dengan segera memberi tahoe kan hal pendapatan itoe dan tanda-tanda majat itoe kepada kepala-kepala désa jang dekat.

Djika roepanja masih ada njawa dalam badan jang seroe pa tidak bernjawa lagi itoe, maka haroeslah didjalankan daja oepaja serta pendjagaan jang sepatot-patoetnja menoeroet keadaan dan haroeslah, kalau dapat, diminta pertolo[lo]ngandoktor.

APPENDIX 11. (Translation of the Dutch text).

When a corpse is found and the cause of death is not known, or if there is reason for suspicion, the village head shall at once go to the place where the corpse lies. After a provisional inspection of the situation he shall immediately have his findings reported to the head of the district. In the meanwhile, until the head arrives, he shall have the corpse guarded, so that for the moment everything remains unchanged as it was found, except for what is laid down in article 19.

If the corpse is of an unknown person the village head shall immediately inform the heads of the neighbouring villages of the discovery and of the distinguishing marks of the corpse.

Article 19. If there seems to be any possibility that there is still life in the seemingly lifeless body, the most appropriate means and precautions shall be applied, according to circumstances, and if possible the aid of a physician shall be immediately summoned.

APPENDIX 12. Handleiding 39/GB 1921:76-77. Published by Volkslectuur.

art. 18 Iedere aangeslotene is verplicht de voorgeschreven en in de telefoongidsen bekend gestelde wijze van telefoonbehandeling op te volgen.

In het bijzonder zijn de aangesloten, bij wie wisselborden zijn geplaatst, gehouden zich wat betreft de wijze van bediening daarvan uitsluitend te gedragen naar de aanwijzingen daartoe vanwege den telefoondienst te geven.

Laatste bedoelde aangeslotenen kunnen worden verplicht, het personeel, dat door hem voor de bediening van het wisselbord wordt aangewezen, op hunne kosten door de Gouvernements Telefoondienst voor hun taak te doen opleiden.

Tijap-tijap orang jang diperhoeboengkan wadjib menoeroet peratoeran-peratoeran dan tjara menalipon, jang diberitahoe kan dalam talipon.

Orang-orang jang diperhoeboengkan, jang ada padanja ditempatkan papan-pertoekaran, teroetama diwadjibkan, akan menoeroet hanja penoendjoekan jang diberikan oléh pkerdjaan-talipon, tentang tjaranja memakai talipon itoe.

Orang-orang jang diperhoeboengkan jang baharoe diseboetkan itoe boléh diwadjibkan menjoeroeh mengadjari orang, jang ditoendjoekkannja boewat mendjaga papan-pertoekaran, pada Pkerdjaan-talipon Gobernemén, atas belandjanja sendiri.

De aangeslotene draagt zorg, dat van uit zijne aansluiting met het dienstdoende personeel van den telefoondienst alleen gesprekken worden gevoerd, welke op den dienst betrekking hebben en dat daarbij geen onvoegzame, ongepaste of ruwe uitdrukkingen worden gebezigd.

Het voeren van gesprekken kan worden gestuit wanneer die in strijd worden geacht met de veiligheid van den Staat, de openbare orde of de goede zeden.

Ten einde het publiek in de gelegenheid te stellen, telefoongesprekken tegen betaling per gesprek te kunnen voeren, wordt op een door den Chef van den dienst aangewezen plaats een telefoontoestel aangebracht, dat "publiektelefoonstation" genoemd wordt.

Orang jang diperhoeboengkan haroes mendjaga, soepaja pada perhoeboengannya dengan orang jang mendjaga Pekerdjaan-talipon dilakoekan hanja bitjara jang bersangkoetan dengan pekerdjaan itoe, dan dalamnja itoe tidak boléh dipakai perkataan-perkataan jang tijada patoet jang tijada lajak ataupoen jang kasar.

Meneroeskan pembitjaraan boléh dihentikan, kalau ditimbang pembitjaraan itoe berbahaya akan kesentosaan Negeri, tertib 'oemoem atau dengan kesopanan jang baik.

Akan memberikan kesempatan kepada orang banyak, boewat melakoekan pembitjaraan dengan talipon dengan bajaran tijap-tijap kali pembitjaraan, akan ditempatkan seboewah perkakas talipon pada tempat jang ditoendjoekkan oléh Kepala Pekerdjaan ini; talipon itoe dinamai: "Publiektelefoonstation" (Stasiun-talipon orang-banyak).

APPENDIX 12. (Translation of the Dutch text). Instructions for telephone subscribers.

Article 18.

Every subscriber is bound to follow the prescribed procedures, published in the directories, for handling the telephone.

Especially those subscribers who have switchboards installed are placed are obliged with regard to the operating of those switchboards to strictly follow the instructions given by the telephone service.

The subscribers referred to in the preceding paragraph may be obliged, at their own expenses, to train the personnel assigned by the Government's Telephone Service to operate the switchboard.

The subscriber sees to it that calls made from his connection with the staff in charge of the telephone service will exclusively pertain to the service, and that no improper, impertinent or coarse expressions will be used. Calls may be interrupted if they are considered to be conflicting with the security of the State, or to offend against public order or common decency. In order to enable the general public to make telephone calls at a charge for each call, a telephone will be installed at a place to be indicated by the Head of the service; this will be called a 'public telephone station'.

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THE DEVELOPMENT AND USE OF AMBONESE MALAY

BARBARA DIX GRIMES

The language that is spoken on the islands of Ambon and Lease is Malay. However, it is very different from the Malay of Sumatra and Java, mixed with many foreign part Portuguese and part Ternatan words, so that anyone who has just arrived in these parts, even if he has lived in the Indies for years, will initially have trouble understanding the language, and in making himself understood.¹

G.W.W.C. Baron van Hoëvell, 1875:89

1. INTRODUCTION

When Baron van Hoëvell described the language spoken around the island of Ambon in the eastern part of present-day Indonesia, it is not surprising that in 1875 he found it to be very divergent from the Malay spoken in the western parts of the archipelago. This variety of Malay, referred to locally as *Bahasa Ambon* or *Bahasa Melaju Ambon* and described with terms such as 'lingua franca', 'patois', 'Low Malay' and 'Creole Malay', had been recognised as a different Malay for more than 200 years before van Hoëvell's time. Studies of Ambonese Malay (AM) to date have noted some of the major historical factors that have influenced its development, but they have focused primarily on aspects of its phonology, morphology, syntax and lexicon (Ludeking 1868; van Hoëvell 1876; de Clercq 1876; Collins 1974, 1980a, 1981, 1983b; C. Grimes 1985). This paper attempts to balance the initial linguistic analyses of AM which have been done with an in-depth social analysis of the history of its speakers. The development of AM is considered here in light of sociohistorical data, linguistic data and sociolinguistic factors which influence its present-day use.²

¹Original quote: "De taal die op het eiland **Ambon** en de **Oeliasers** **gesproken** wordt, is **maleisch**, dat evenwel van het **maleisch op Sumatra en Java** gebezigt zeer veel verschilt en met **vele vreemde deels portugeesche, deels ternataansche woorden vermengd is**, zoodat iedereen die **pas** in deze gewesten komt, ook al is hij **reeds jaren in Indië**, in den eersten tijd moeite zal hebben de taal te verstaan en zich verstaanbaar itte drukken."

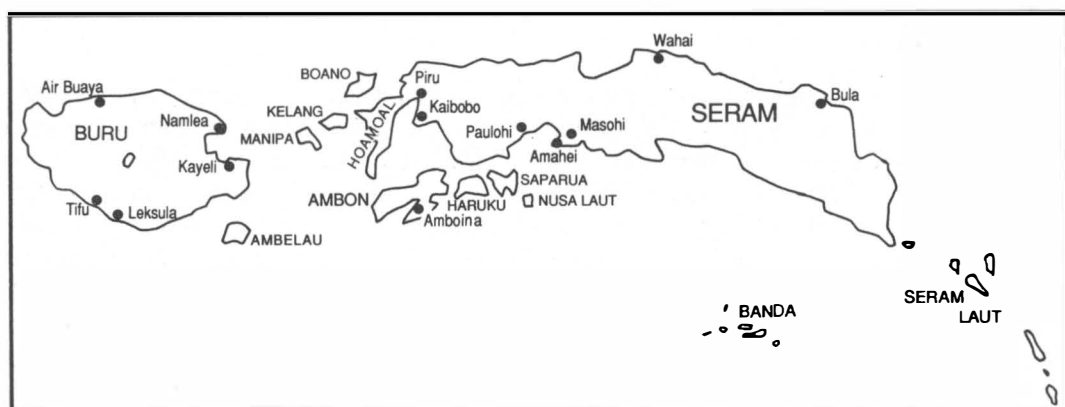
²This paper is a revised and expanded version of a paper presented at the Fifth International Conference on Austronesian languages in Auckland, New Zealand in 1988. Here the linguistic and historical data is expanded and re-analysed in light of Thomason and Kaufman's (1988) framework for the linguistic results of language contact. I became aware of the fascinating sociolinguistic picture found in Central Maluku, Indonesia – particularly in relation to the use of Ambonese Malay – living on Ambon and Buru since 1983 while working under the auspices of Pattimura University in Ambon in cooperation with the Summer Institute of Linguistics. I express my appreciation to several who have been alongside me in the development of this paper. Many Ambonese and Buru friends have shared their language and lives with me. Drs Jules Pattiselanno was very helpful in discussing some of my observations on language use in Ambon. His awareness of his own language, Ambonese Malay, is extraordinary and his love and enthusiasm for Ambonese culture is contagious. To Wilhelmina Munger I owe a debt of gratitude for helping me unravel the Dutch literature. I am also very grateful to Charles Grimes, James Collins, Tom Dutton and Peter Mühlhäusler who commented on earlier drafts of this paper.

H. Steinhauer, ed. *Papers in Austronesian linguistics*, No.1, 83-123.
Pacific Linguistics, A-81, 1991.

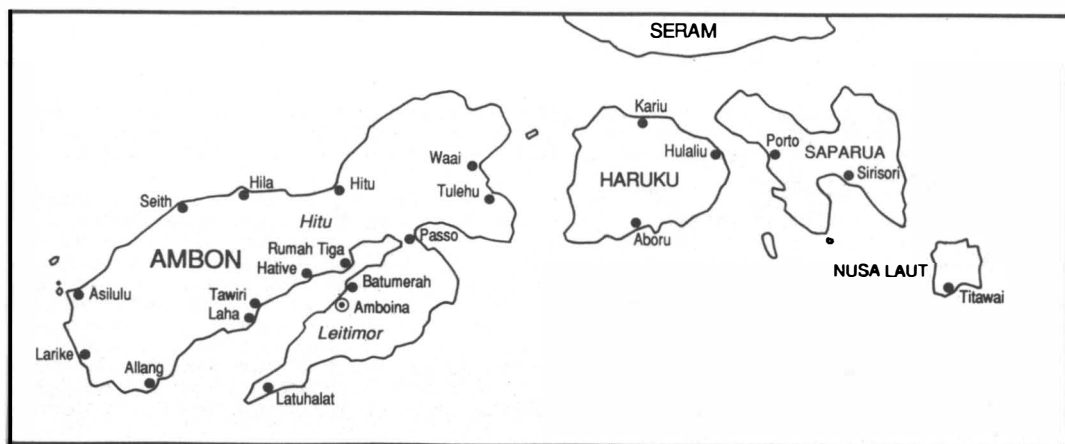
© Barbara Dix Grimes



MAP 1: THE INDONESIAN ARCHIPELAGO



MAP 2: CENTRAL MALUKU



MAP 3: AMBON AND THE LEASE ISLANDS

The island of Ambon is the central reference point of this study. Ambon is 52km long by 18km wide or 813 square kilometres in size. The island consists of two oblong peninsulas which rise from the sea, joined by a narrow alluvial isthmus. The northern and larger peninsula is called Hitu and the southern one Leitimor. Several harbours and bays around the island are of note, particularly the large Bay of Ambon between the two peninsulas where ships have sought harbour and refuge from monsoons for centuries. Geographically larger than any of the neighbouring Lease islands to the east (Saparua, Haruku and Nusa Laut), Ambon is nonetheless dwarfed in size by Seram to the north and Buru to the west and shows up as not much more than a dot on a world map. Today the island supports a population of 150,000 inhabitants who claim the distinction of being a population where 50 per cent of the inhabitants follow the religion of Islam and 50 per cent that of Christianity. The capital city of the Indonesian province of Maluku is the town of Amboina¹ located on the bay side of the Leitimor peninsula. Amboina has been a regional political and economic centre ever since the Portuguese built their fort, Nossa Senhor da Anunciada, on the shore there in 1576.

Although Ambon is the central focus, the scope of this paper includes surrounding areas which have also been influenced by AM. For lack of a better term, I call this area 'Central Maluku' and make use of the Anglicised term 'Central Moluccan'. These terms are used here to refer to a more limited geographical area than the political subdivision of the province which is also called 'Central Maluku' (*Maluku Tengah*).² The area I refer to is Ambon, the three Lease islands, and coastal areas of Seram, Buru and other smaller islands where AM is used as a lingua franca. The Banda Islands and eastern Seram were historically a separate regency under the Dutch, and are tentatively excluded from the scope of this paper due to the separate historical and linguistic influences which have occurred there.³ The northern coasts of Buru and Seram appear to have had more influence from the Malay spoken in Ternate and for this paper are not included in my use of the term 'Central Maluku'.

1.1 OVERVIEW OF THE CURRENT LINGUISTIC PICTURE IN CENTRAL MALUKU

The linguistic setting in Central Maluku today is in many ways similar to what it was in 1875 when described by van Hoëvell. He noted (1875:94, 95) that a great variety of native languages were spoken in the area as well as AM, which was used as both a lingua franca and a mother tongue:

Because of this great variety of dialects [in Ambon and Lease], not a native language, but Ambonese Malay (mixed with some native words that are common to all dialects) is used as the medium of communication between the inhabitants of the different villages...On Ambon island the native language in most Christian villages is already completely gone, pushed out by Malay. Only in a few villages such as Alang and Liliboi has it been preserved to this day. With the followers of Islam however, this is not the case, and, except for the rulers and lesser chiefs, the only ones who understand Malay are those who, because of business interests, have left their villages many times and had contact

¹The capital town on Ambon is frequently called Ambon, *Kota Ambon* 'Ambon City' or Amboina. To avoid confusion here I will refer to the island as Ambon and the capital town as Amboina.

²The political subdivision of *Kabupaten Maluku Tengah* includes the islands of Ambon, Saparua, Haruku, Nusa Laut, Buru, Seram, Boano, Manipa, Kelang, Ambelau, the islands of Seram Laut and Banda, and other smaller islands.

³The Malay lingua franca spoken around the Banda islands has been labelled by some (de Clercq 1876; Prentice 1978) as Banda Malay, distinct from AM. A good description of Banda Malay is needed, along with notes on the similarities between Banda Malay and AM and other Malay lingua francas in eastern Indonesia. Banda Malay is outside the scope of this paper.

with the natives of other regions or with Europeans. Rarely do Moslem women and girls understand Malay.¹

There are a large number of indigenous Austronesian Central Malayo-Polynesian languages (following Blust's 1978 classification) spoken today in Central Maluku. Current estimates include around 45 mutually non-intelligible languages spoken on the island of Seram, an additional half dozen or so on Ambon and Buru (both had more in the past) and one each on the smaller islands of Ambelau, Boana, Manipa, Saparua, Haruku and Nusalaut (B.F. Grimes, ed. 1988). The language picture is still incomplete as dialect chaining is common and the boundaries of dialects and languages remain uncertain. Nevertheless, it can be estimated that somewhere in the neighbourhood of 55 indigenous languages are spoken in Central Maluku today.

Besides the indigenous languages, AM is the mother tongue of speakers in most Christian villages on Ambon and Lease.² AM also plays an important role as a lingua franca in Central Maluku, as it has for a long time. Today it is the second language of many who speak indigenous languages, including Moslem women and girls, the one group van Hoëvell noted rarely spoke it in his day. It is significant in this regard, that only since van Hoëvell's time have Moslem children been provided formal education on Ambon.

While indigenous Central Moluccan languages and AM are used in every-day life, several other languages are also used in Central Maluku. Among the Moslem population, Arabic functions as the traditional high religious language. Quran reading competitions are an annual occurrence among Moslem school children. Among the Christian population, in church settings a form of older literary Malay with specialised religious vocabulary is used which I refer to as 'Church Malay' in this paper.³

With the formation of the Republic of Indonesia on 17 August 1945, Indonesian was declared the official national language. Formal Indonesian has its roots in the Malay used in the courts of the sultanates on the Malaysian peninsula, and in Ambon today it is used primarily in education and government.

¹Original quote: "Deze groote verscheidenheid van dialecten brengt mede, dat niet de bahasa tanah, maar het ambonsch maleisch [hoewel soms met woorden der bahasa, die in alle dialecten overeenkomen, vermengd] het voermiddel der gedachte is tusschen de bewoners der verschillende negorijen onderling...Op het eiland **Ambon** is de bahasa tanah zelfs in de meeste christennegorijen reeds geheel verloren gegaan en door het maleisch verdrongen. Slechts in enkele negorijen, zoo als bijv. te **Alang** en **Liliboi** is zij bewaard gebleven tot den huidigen dag. Bij de **Islammen** daarentegen is dit niet het geval, en behalve de regenten en mindere hoofden, verstaan slechts diegenen maleisch, welke uit handelsbelangen reeds meermalen hunne negorijen verlaten hebben en met inlanders van andere streken of met Europeanen in aanraking geweest zijn. Vrouwen en meisjes, die maleisch verstaan, zijn bij de **Islammen** zeldzaam."

²The town of Amboina itself is becoming cosmopolitan. For the inhabitants of this town, what language(s) one speaks depends to a large degree on which village(s) one's parents (or grandparents) were originally from.

³The Malay of the church uses religious vocabulary frequently borrowed from Arabic and Sanscrit. Much of the actual Malay tends to be of older forms which are not used in common everyday Indonesian (BI for Bahasa Indonesian). The verbal affixation and pronouns of literary Malay are used extensively, including the pronoun *Hu*, used in referring to God. This language of the church has much in common with BI, which also developed from literary Malay, and most people consider it to be BI. However, the above points make Church Malay stylistically distinct from even the most formal BI as it is used today in non-church settings. Upon hearing just a short utterance, most Ambonese would immediately recognise this type of speech as *basagereja* 'church language'. The significant point sociolinguistically is that even though this form of Malay (the church variety) has been in Ambon for centuries, it remained foreign to a great extent and few people besides the preachers could ever really understand it, much less speak it. As van Hoëvell said, '*het gros der kerkangers bijna niets of althans zeer weinig van de preek begrijpt*' - "the majority of churchgoers understand almost nothing or very little of the sermon" (1875:91). Van Hoëvell also noted that in Central Maluku there had been a *heligetaal* 'holy language', which, by his time, was preserved only in the old *pantung* 'proverbs' of the Moslem population (1875:92). The existence of a 'holy' or special religious language is a feature found in many traditional religions in insular Southeast Asia, where it was used primarily by native priests in the preservation of sacred tribal knowledge (cf. Fox 1987:524). In traditional Central Moluccan societies this would have set the pattern for another religious or specialised language, Church Malay, to be used in a new religion, which would need to be spoken and understood only by the preachers. This was basically the function this Malay initially took in Central Maluku.

In the latter half of the 19th century the Dutch language was spoken increasingly as a second and sometimes first language by Ambonese who attended schools taught in Dutch on Ambon. The prestige of speaking Dutch or of even using Dutch words was described by van Hoëvell (1875:90): "If they can use a Dutch word here and there that they've remembered (even in a 'crippled' sense), it is considered educated"¹. The use of Dutch in Ambon has declined since independence, but it continues to be perceived as a prestige language associated with people who were educated in the Dutch schools.

Adding to the multilingualism of Central Maluku are a variety of immigrant languages – Butonese, Makassarese, Bugis, Javanese, various Chinese languages and other languages from both inside and outside of Maluku. Though able to communicate to some degree using Malay words, people new to Ambon continue reporting great difficulty in understanding AM, just as they did in van Hoëvell's time (1875:89). Outsiders who learn to speak AM do so with varying degrees of proficiency, depending on their personal and social motivation to do so.

1.2 THE MEDLEY OF MALAYS

Malay is a language with a very complicated history. It has taken on various characteristics as it has come into contact with other languages in places both near and far from its homeland. Referring to any form of speech as 'Malay' can be very confusing if some clarification is not made. Teeuw (1961:42, 43) pointed out that:

The problem of Malay and Malay dialects is a particularly complicated one and at present we lack sufficient raw material as well as clear cut criteria to reach a satisfactory solution. Because of the enormous expansion geographically, for many centuries now, of Malay, through dispersion and colonisation, the intensive contact of many Malay speakers – vagabonds, traders, religious propagandists, etc. – with the local populations, by mixing and influencing in various ways and at very different periods and with differing intensity, *an extremely intricate complex of Malay, Malay-like and Malay-influenced languages and dialects has come into existence over a very extensive area.* [emphasis mine]

Prentice (1978:20) clarified the picture somewhat by pointing out that three main types of Malay exist today: mother tongue Malay, official language Malay and lingua franca Malay. The various mother tongue Malay dialects of the Malay Peninsula, Sumatra and Borneo are outside the scope of this paper. However, the two other types of Malay – official language and lingua franca Malay – have both played an important role in Central Maluku and will be defined here.

'OFFICIAL LANGUAGE' MALAY – STANDARD MALAY

The 'official language' variety of Malay is often referred to as 'Riau-Johore Malay' and Prentice (1978:23) points out that it is "not the local dialect of Malay that is spoken in that region, but the literary Malay which represents the direct descendant of the language used in the court of the Malacca sultanate...and which continued to be used in the court of the sultans of Riau and Johore". This language is therefore seen as 'high' or 'literary' as it has been preserved in manuscripts from the 16th and 17th centuries, such as the classic *Sejarah Melayu*. This is the variety of Malay which largely

¹Original quote: "Kunnen zij bovendien hier en daar een hollandsch woord, dat zij opgevangen en onthouden hebben, hoewel soms zeer verninkt, te pas brengen, dat wordt dit als zeer geleerd beschouwd."

developed into the present-day official national languages of Indonesia, Malaysia, Singapore and Brunei. For the sake of simplicity, I refer to this Malay as 'Standard Malay' (SM).

LINGUA FRANCA MALAY

During the late 14th century numerous changes occurred in parts of Southeast Asia which linked the spread of commerce and trade (particularly in spices), the spread of Islam, and the spread of the Malay language (cf. Reid 1984). The city of Malacca, founded in 1401, was built on the shore of the strategic strait between the Malay Peninsula and Sumatra (see Map 1) and was destined to become the premier centre of Asian trade in the 15th and 16th centuries.

The life blood of Malacca was commerce. During the fourteenth century the Strait was the crucial sector of the world's major trade-route which had one terminus in Venice – or even further westwards – and the other in the Molucca Islands. Spices were carried through the Archipelago over many routes and in the ships of divers peoples; in the Indian Ocean they also followed various directions before finally entering the Middle East through either the Persian Gulf or the Red Sea, but to the Strait of Malacca there was no practical alternative. Here the staple produce of the Archipelago was funnelled through a narrow channel in places less than forty miles wide. This, as later the Portuguese were to realize, was the only point throughout the 8,000 miles of the trade-route at which a monopoly of spice distribution could be established...The pivotal position of Malacca at the junction of the Indian, China and Java Seas was fully appreciated by Tome Pires, the shrewd apothecary from Portugal, whose description of the economic regimen of Malacca can stand repetition here: 'Malacca is a city that was made for merchandise, fitter than any other in the world; the end of monsoons and the beginning of others. Malacca is surrounded and lies in the middle, and the trade and commerce between the different nations for a thousand leagues on every hand must come to Malacca (p.286)'. (Wheatley 1961:312-313)

The population of Malacca in the 15th century was very diverse:

Malays were always by far the most numerous but from the very earliest years foreign merchants resided in the town. First came traders from the Sumatran ports across the Strait...These were quickly joined by Bengalis, and then by Gujaratis, Klings, Parsis and merchants from as far afield as Arabia. Pires ([1512-1515 in *Suma Oriental*] vol.2, p.269) avers that no less than eighty-four distinct languages could be heard in the streets of Malacca. (Wheatley 1961:312)

Before the Portuguese arrived at Malacca in the early 16th century, Malay was well established as the lingua franca in this very heterogenous multi-ethnic trading city (Baxter 1988:4). Through trade and the spread of Islam, Malay came to be used throughout Southeast Asia. Reid (1984:21) notes that Pigafetta, on board one of the earliest Portuguese boats, felt that the Moors "had only one language, whether it was in the Philippines, Borneo, the Moluccas or Timor, and that of course was Malay".

2. A BRIEF COMPARISON: AMBONESE MALAY AND STANDARD MALAY

This short sketch presents some of the distinct linguistic features of AM in contrast to those of SM. Much of the data for this section are adapted from Collins (1980a) and C. Grimes (1985).

Although the great majority of AM lexical items are identifiably Malay, there are varying degrees of phonological, morphological, syntactic and semantic differences between AM and SM.

(a) Phonology

Phonologically, AM is parallel to SM in many respects. However, there is the noticeable lack of a mid central unrounded vowel [e] in AM along with additional differences noted below. (Stress is indicated only where there is a difference between AM and SM.)

Absence of schwa:

SM	AM	
<i>celaka</i>	<i>cilaka</i>	misfortune
<i>keliling</i>	<i>kuliling</i>	go around
<i>sebentar</i>	<i>sabantar</i>	a moment
<i>pe'rut</i>	<i>'poro</i>	stomach

Loss of word-final stops:

SM	AM	
<i>dapat</i>	<i>dapa</i>	can, be able
<i>sakit</i>	<i>saki</i>	sick
<i>gemu?</i>	<i>gamu</i>	fat

Velarisation of final nasals:

SM	AM	
<i>bikin</i>	<i>biking</i>	make
<i>belum</i>	<i>balong/blong</i>	not yet
<i>malam</i>	<i>malang</i>	night
<i>cium</i>	<i>ciong</i>	sniff, kiss
<i>kawin</i>	<i>kaweng</i>	marry

Neutralisation of /u/ with /o/:

SM	AM	
<i>kunci</i>	<i>kunci/konci</i>	key
<i>taruh</i>	<i>taru/taro</i>	put
<i>pe'nuh</i>	<i>'ponu/'pono</i>	full

Elision:¹

SM	AM	
<i>jangan</i>	<i>jang</i>	don't
<i>lagi</i>	<i>lai</i>	again
<i>sudah</i>	<i>su/s-</i>	already

(b) Pronouns

Most AM pronouns are different from those of SM, reflecting a variety of origins, some of which are similar to other varieties of Malay in eastern Indonesia. AM has a distinctive third person singular neuter pronoun *akang* 'it', which, as Collins (1980a:28) points out, functions very differently from the SM *akan* which is an auxiliary 'will, for, in reference to' preposition.

¹Elision is a general feature of many Central Moluccan languages (cf. Collins 1983a:24ff).

TABLE 1: SM AND AM PRONOUNS

	SM	AM
1SG	<i>aku, saya</i>	<i>beta</i> (old court Malay 1SG)
2SG (familiar)	<i>kamu</i>	<i>ose/os/se</i> (Portuguese 2SG = <i>voce</i>)
(respect)	<i>engkau</i>	<i>ale</i> (various C.Maluku languages 2SG = <i>ale</i>)
3SG (familiar)	<i>dia</i>	<i>dia</i>
(respect)	<i>beliau</i>	<i>angtua</i> (<i>orang</i> 'person' + <i>tua</i> 'old')
(neuter)	∅	<i>akang</i>
1PL(i/e)	<i>kami/kita</i>	<i>katong</i> (<i>kita orang</i>)*
2PL	<i>kalian</i>	<i>kamong</i> (<i>kamu orang</i>) or addressee + <i>dong</i>
3PL	<i>mereka</i>	<i>dorang</i> (<i>dia orang</i>), <i>dong</i> or referent + <i>dong</i>

**Batong* (said to be from *beta* + *orang*) is used for the first person plural pronoun on Saparua, reflecting some of the dialectal variations in AM.

Some examples of *akang*:

Mangapa se blong kas klar akang?
 why 2SG not yet cause finish it
 Why haven't you finished it?

Akang su ilang!
 it already lost
 It's lost!

(c) Possession

The possessive pronominal enclitics which occur in SM do not occur in AM.

	SM	AM
1SG	<i>-ku</i>	∅
2SG	<i>-mu</i>	∅
3SG	<i>-nya</i>	∅

The possessive construction POSSESSED + POSSESSOR of SM does not occur in AM.

SM	AM	
<i>rumah saya</i>	∅	my house
<i>rumah-ku</i>	∅	my house

In AM the possessive construction is POSSESSOR + POSSESSIVE PARTICLE + POSSESSED, where *puña* or *pung* functions as the possessive particle.¹ This type of construction is also found in other varieties of 'Low' (lingua franca type) Malay. Prentice (1978:19) considers the possessive particle *puña* in the genitive construction to be one of "the salient features" of Low Malay, a point that Rafferty also makes (in Collins 1983b:30).

Low Malay:	<i>saya</i>	<i>puña</i>	<i>rumah</i>	my house
AM:	<i>beta</i>	<i>pung</i>	<i>ruma</i>	my house

¹ See Collins (1983b) for an entire article on the possessive construction in AM and for the distribution of *pung* and *puña*.

(d) Verb Morphology

Morphological differences between AM and SM are highlighted in their verbal systems. Collins (1980a:22,25) has noted:

The most striking differences between AM and SM occur in their respective affix systems. SM is characterized by a fairly complex system of affixes, particularly verbal affixes. These change the syntactic and semantic function of the verbs...In AM the productive affix system is considerably smaller. Most affixes seem to appear only in fixed (fossilized) forms and these in uses which sometimes differ from SM uses.

Table 2 is adapted from Collins (1980a) and C. Grimes (1985). It reflects *productive* affixes in AM. Although one can find what look like occasional AM equivalents of other SM affixes, they are not productive – as Collins says, they are ‘fixed’ or ‘fossilised’. In several cases similar meaning is conveyed in AM by the use of a periphrastic verbal auxiliary as indicated on the right side of the chart.

TABLE 2: PRODUCTIVE SM AND AM VERBAL AFFIXES		
	SM	AM
Stative/Habitual/Intra-Directive	<i>ber-</i>	<i>ba-*</i>
Subject = Actor	<i>meN-</i>	\emptyset
Causative/Benefactive	<i>meN-Rt-kan</i>	\emptyset (<i>kas</i> ‘give’ + <i>Rt</i>)
Locative/Goal	<i>meN-Rt-i</i>	\emptyset
Causative	<i>memper-Rt-(kan)</i>	\emptyset (<i>biking</i> ‘make’ + <i>Rt</i>)
Locative/Goal	<i>memper-Rt-i</i>	\emptyset
Subject = Undergoer	<i>di-</i>	\emptyset (<i>dapa</i> ‘able’ + <i>Rt</i>)
	<i>di-Rt-kan</i>	\emptyset
	<i>di-Rt-i</i>	\emptyset
Accidental/Unintentional	<i>ter-</i>	<i>ta-</i>
Adversative	<i>ke-Rt-an</i>	\emptyset (<i>kena</i> ‘advers.’ + <i>Rt</i>)
Agentive	<i>peN-</i>	\emptyset
Nominalisation	<i>-an</i>	\emptyset
Nominalisation	<i>ke-Rt-an</i>	\emptyset
Abstract noun (process)	<i>peN-Rt-an</i>	\emptyset
Abstract noun (state)	<i>per-Rt-an</i>	\emptyset
Reciprocal	<i>Rt-meN-Rt</i>	<i>baku-†</i>

*The prefix *ba-* in AM is sometimes also an active verb as in *beta ba-ganti dolo* ‘I’m going to change [my clothes]’.
†Collins calls *baku-* a reciprocal prefix, parallel to Asilulu *maka-* (1980a:27,67). It could be just as well (if not better) described in AM as an auxiliary verb or adverb, as in *dong pung fam baku kaweng* ‘their clans marry [get marriage partners from] each other’ or *dong baku dapa* ‘they met [each other]’.

(e) Modals

Besides the above differences in SM and AM verbs, there are further differences in the modals that are used.

TABLE 3: MODALS		
	SM	AM
In progress	<i>sedang</i> VERB	<i>ada</i> VERB
Continuative	<i>masih</i> VERB	<i>ada...VERB...lai</i>
Obligatory	<i>harus/perlu/mesti</i>	<i>musti</i>
Purpose/desire/future	<i>ingin/hendak/mau</i>	<i>mau/mo</i>
Completive/perfective	<i>sudah</i>	<i>suda/su/s-</i>

(f) Semantics

Although much of the AM lexicon is of Malay origin (with the distinguishing phonological features of AM) there are frequent cases where the semantics of AM and SM are shifted or where words for the same lexical item have different origins:

SM		AM	
<i>ikan lumba-lumba</i>	porpoise	<i>ikan babi</i>	porpoise (pig fish)
<i>ular</i>	snake	<i>ular</i>	worm, caterpillar, snake
<i>terlalu</i>	excessive	<i>talalu</i>	marker of superlative degree
<i>jahat</i>	evil	<i>jaha</i>	mischievous, excessively naughty

Confusion can arise when a word pronounced the same in both AM and SM has two different origins and two separate meanings, such as SM *bu* 'respectful term of address for a woman of marriageable age or older' (from *ibu* 'mother') versus AM *bu* 'elder brother'. Other terms of address are frequently very different between SM and AM (cf. C. Grimes 1985).

(g) Discourse features

The discourse particles used in even ordinary conversation can be very different in SM and AM:

SM	AM	
<i>Setelah itu/kemudian/lalu...</i>	<i>Abis itu/tarus/lantas...</i>	Then...
<i>Kapan?</i>	<i>Apa tempo?</i>	When?
<i>Pantas!</i>	<i>Ada harus!</i>	Of course!
<i>Waktu itu...</i>	<i>Tempo hari...</i>	At that time...

3. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

An overview of the major events which shaped the history of Central Maluku is presented here, considering specifically how events from each of the different periods in its history influenced language use and attitudes in Central Maluku and hence the development of AM.

3.1 1400S – THE ARRIVAL OF MALAY AND ISLAM IN TERNATE AND BANDA

Two trees native to Maluku influenced not only the history of these islands but, in many respects, the history of much of the world as it searched for spices. Clove trees (*Eugenia caryophyllata*) were native in what has historically been called the 'Mollucas Proper': the north Moluccan islands of Ternate, Tidore, Jailolo (Halmahera) and Bacan. Nutmeg and mace (both from the fruit of *Myristica fragrans*) were native to Banda (van Fraassen 1983:3). Because these trees originated in Maluku (a fact agreed on by most biologists), cloves and nutmeg serve as what Lapien (1965) calls 'tracers' of

contact and trade between Maluku and the outside world. Some scholars deduct from written sources that cloves were known in Europe as early as the 1st century AD. By the early 4th century, however, there is definite evidence that cloves had reached Europe when Silvester, the Bishop of Rome from 314-335, received a gift of 150 pounds of cloves (Lapian 1965:67). Some trade in cloves and nutmeg from Maluku had gone on for many centuries, but in the late 14th century the trade began to expand very rapidly as Europe became affected by what Reid (1984:20) has called the "spice-orgy". Asian traders brought the spices from Maluku to the western part of the Indonesian archipelago where they were purchased by Arab, Chinese and other foreign traders and eventually made their way to China, the Middle East and Europe via Venice (Lapian 1965:78).

I have already noted how an increase in trade and commerce along with the spread of Islam and the use of the Malay language as a *lingua franca* were interlinked social processes which occurred throughout various parts of Southeast Asia in the late 14th and 15th centuries. Islam was introduced to Ternate at around 1460 and to Banda around 1480. In Ternatan accounts of this event there is no distinction made between the coming of the Malay traders and the formal acceptance of Islam (Jacobs 1971:104-105; Reid 1984:24). In the later part of the 15th century both Ternate and Banda thus became incorporated into the greater Malay-Muslim trading network of cities spread throughout Southeast Asia. The island of Tidore also accepted Islam and eventually became a rival sultanate to neighbouring Ternate.

During this part of the 15th century most of Central Maluku as defined in this study, however, remained out of focus, although it was not totally unaffected by the spice trade, or the centralisation and competition for power between Ternate and Tidore. In the 16th century these two sultanates strove to control vast areas in the region including much of North Maluku, parts of Central Maluku, Sulawesi and the Raja Ampat islands. The island of Ambon was also indirectly involved in the spice trade at this time as "a port of call and point of support on the trade route to and from the spice islands", particularly on the route between the nutmeg in Banda and the cloves in the northern islands (van Fraassen 1983:4).

3.2 1500S – THE ARRIVAL OF THE PORTUGUESE

In 1511 the Portuguese Captain Alfonso de Albuquerque gained control of the strategic city of Malacca on the Malay Peninsula. The next year Albuquerque sent a Portuguese fleet to Banda to find out all they could about the spice trade. One ship, commanded by Francisco Serrão, was shipwrecked on the Lucipara Islands shortly after leaving Banda on the way back to Malacca. Serrão and a few of his crew were discovered by 'natives' who offered to take them to Hitu on the island of Ambon. There the Portuguese helped the people of Hitu in a local war. Their fame soon spread throughout the islands and they were invited to Ternate by Bolief, the Sultan. Serrão, taking advantage of the warm reception, attempted to establish trade with the Sultan (Argensola 1708:5).

As the Portuguese attempted to control the trade of spices in Maluku, their initial focus was primarily at the two sources: Ternate, where they built a fort in 1522, and Banda. They continued to make calls at Ambon on their way to and from Malacca, spending from the end of February to mid May each year awaiting the east monsoon winds for the return journey to Malacca (van Fraassen 1983:4). The people of Hitu on Ambon had recently accepted Islam under the influence of the Sultan of Ternate. In 1524 conflict between the Moslem people of Hitu and the Portuguese escalated to such an extent that the Portuguese left the north coast of Hitu and established relations with the non-Moslem village of Rumah Tiga on Ambon Bay. The Portuguese soon found that in Central Maluku

they were caught in the middle of centuries-old interclan warfare between two native village alliance networks: Uli Lima ('The League of Five') and Uli Siwa ('The League of Nine'). In 1569 the Portuguese allied themselves with the League of Nine villages against Hitu and other League of Five villages. Van Fraassen (1983:5) describes this ancient political system and its consequences in Central Maluku:

Each village belonged to either the League of Five or the League of Nine, and in each region, island or group of islands the villages of the League of Five and the League of Nine were distributed in such a way as to make for a dual territorial division. It is apparent from 16th- and 17th-century sources that the two Leagues regarded each other as opponents...As a result of the influence of this system the villages of the one would make political and cultural choices that were opposed to the choices of nearby villages of the other. The villages of the north coast of Hitu belonged to the League of Five, had embraced Islam and sought support from the Javanese. The villages of the south coast of Hitu, including Hatiwe and Tawiri, belonged to the League of Nine, were still heathen, and sought alliance with the Portuguese. By and large the heathen villages of Ambon...and Lease...belonging to the League of Nine in the 16th century became the allies of the Portuguese, which as a rule implied that they embraced Christianity. The villages of the League of Five in these islands were inclined to accept Islam and seek the support of Javanese and Ternatans, on the other hand.

During this time the Portuguese had tried to monopolise the clove trade from Ternate. As a result, Hitu and the neighbouring Hoamoal Peninsula on Seram became a black market area, growing and selling cloves to Javanese and Malay traders. Ambon thus became strategically much more important to the Portuguese, motivating them to build a fort on the island in 1569 to better control the area. Another reason for the fort was to provide protection for their allies on the island. The League of Nine villages continued to be involved in warfare with the League of Five villages, the ancient conflict had now taken on Moslem versus Christian overtones. Jacobs (1974-84 vol.1:59*) describes Ambon at this time:

Every year, from late February to mid May, while the ships were 'hibernating' in the large bay between Hitu and Leitimor, Portuguese power made its influence felt and the Christians knew they were relatively safe. But as soon as the ships left, the Muslims had free play. This situation was changed through the building of a fortress on Ambon, first in 1569 and definitively 1576, were it not that about the same time Portuguese power was steadily waning and scarcely able to exercise a full control over the island. The Christians began to leave their former centers and to cluster around the fortress in order to secure their religious freedom and even their lives.

Upon their arrival in Maluku in 1512 the Portuguese consistently reported that they found "*a lingua malaya que por todas estas partes corre*" 'the Malay language which runs through all these parts'.¹ The widespread use of Malay would explain why Serrão, when shipwrecked, was able to communicate first with his 'rescuers', then with the people of Hitu and later with the Sultan of

¹Francisco Vieira wrote this in Ternate on 9 March 1559 (Jacobs 1974-84 vol.1:267) and it is only one of many such comments by the Portuguese at the time.

Ternate.¹ In the middle of the 16th century Jesuit missionaries began arriving in Maluku. Because Malay was spoken widely throughout the area, it became the language used for spreading Christianity, much like it had been used for spreading Islam. Many reports by Jesuits regarding language use can be found, such as the following written by Francisco Xavier from Ambon on 10 May 1546 to the Jesuits in Europe:

Each of these islands has its own language and there are some islands where they speak differently at each place [on the island]. The Malay language, which is what they speak in Malacca, is very widespread in these parts. Into this Malay language (when I was in Malacca) with much work I translated the Creed...[and other prayers]. A great fault in all these islands is that they have no written language and those who know how to read are very few. The language in which they write is Malay, and the letters are Arabic, which the Moor teachers taught them and teach them at present. Before they became Moors they did not know how to write.² (Jacobs 1974-84 vol.1:13,14)

From this statement and many others like it we know that 1) there were many indigenous languages in the area, 2) Malay was reportedly spoken throughout the area, 3) Xavier considered this to be the same Malay as that spoken in Malacca, and 4) the only written language at that time in Central Maluku was Malay using Arabic script. Because the Jesuits were sent out from the diocese of Goa in southern India via Malacca, many actually learned Malay in Malacca before travelling on to Maluku. They were convinced Malay was an easy language to learn. Jacobs (1974-84 vol.2:24*) notes:

An obvious and necessary means to obtain the desired success in the mission work consisted in *learning the native language*, at least the common Malay, the *lingua franca* of the entire Indonesian Archipelago. Practically all the Jesuits did.

The many references in 16th century Portuguese documents to the widespread use of Malay in Maluku are balanced by other references indicating that Malay was not necessarily spoken by everyone. One priest, describing his work in the village of Ilat on Saparua, mentioned that confessions were done "*especialmente os homens que sabiao falar malayo*" 'especially for the men who could speak Malay'.³ While there was widespread use of Malay it is also noteworthy that some Jesuits translated prayers and catechisms in Ternatan and other local languages in addition to Malay, evidently feeling Malay was not well enough known or not known by enough people to be used exclusively in their work (Jacobs 1974-84 vol.3:58,64,78,120). This suggests that although Malay was widely known, it was truly a *lingua franca*, a second language spoken with varying degrees of proficiency by different groups of people.

It is interesting to note what happened in the 16th century to the triad of social factors (commerce/Islam/Malay) which characterised commercial centres such as Ternate that had developed in the 15th century. Malay had been brought to Maluku by Moslem traders. When the Portuguese arrived, they competed intensely against the Moslem traders and rejected their religion. But they

¹Argensola (1708) gives an account, in 18th century English, of the first Portuguese encounters in Maluku (see Appendix). There is no mention of any difficulty in the extensive amount of communication that occurred during these encounters.

²Original quote: "*Cada isla destas tiene lengua por si, ay isla que quasi cada lugar della tiene habla diferente. La lengua malaya, que es la que se habla en Malaca, es muy general por estas partes. En esta lengua malaya (el tiempo que yo estuve en Malaca) con mucho trabajo saque el Credo... Tienen una grande falta en todas estas islas, que no tienen escrituras, ny saben escrevir sono muy pocos. Y la lengua en que escriven es malaya, y las letras son arabias, que los moros cacizes ensenaron a escrevir y ensinan al presente. Antes que se hiziesen moros no sabian escrevir.*"

³Written by Pero Mascarenhas from Ambon to the Jesuits in Goa on 15 June 1570 (Jacobs 1974-84 vol.1:603).

actually encouraged the spread of the Malay language, using it not only in trade with non-Moslem villages but also in the propagation of Christianity.

During the Portuguese stay in Maluku, Malay was not the only outside language with which the people of Central Maluku had contact. There was also significant contact with the Portuguese language itself, although it came about in different ways. At the time it was not uncommon for Portuguese soldiers to marry native women and to build their homes around the forts. In 16th century Portugal women were largely secluded in society and very few Portuguese women ever left Portugal. Marrying native women overseas was officially encouraged by the Portuguese crown (Boxer 1968:58). Jacobs (1974-84:vol.3:14*) describes the Portuguese town around the fortress at Ternate (a "*povoação de portugueses*" "a population of Portuguese"):

As to the island of Ternate, the Portuguese town around the fortress, inhabited by the 'casados', their native wives, their servants and slaves, was of course a Christian town.

These *casados* 'married ones' had an important influence on language use in Central Maluku as they did in other Portuguese colonies. In 1575 when the Ternatans seized the fort at Ternate, the Portuguese agreed to surrender, providing the *casados* and their wives, children and slaves were guaranteed passage to Ambon where the Portuguese were still in control. Many Portuguese men with their families and slaves went to Ambon at that time (Argensola 1708:63). When the Dutch took control of Maluku less than 30 years later, some 32 half-Portuguese families were given land by the village leader of Soa on Ambon island (da Franca 1970:22). As Abdurachman (1972:1) points out, these "*mestico*" households "will account for the Portuguese family-names, and words in family relations; terms for parts of the body, for plants, food, clothing, music and dances" which entered the lingua franca of Central Maluku. Terms of newly introduced items and political positions such as *kadera* 'chair', *meja* 'table', *kapitan* 'captain/war chief', also entered many of the indigenous languages.

Slaves for the Portuguese had been brought from Africa and Asia (mainly India) and long after the Portuguese officially left, their freed Christian slaves remained, forming a homogenous group in Ambonese society. Called *Orang Mardika* 'freed men' they continued to be viewed as a distinct Portuguese-speaking community in Ambon far into the 18th century (de Graaf 1977:51).¹ So in Central Maluku at the end of the 16th century, there were both Portuguese *mestico* households and their Portuguese-speaking slaves. It is not unreasonable to suggest that both these two groups may have spoken a pidgin/creole Portuguese like those which developed in other Portuguese colonies at this time (cf. Baxter 1988:10-18). Today their descendants are assimilated into Ambonese culture, still inheriting their Portuguese family names.

There is indication of some active teaching and learning of Portuguese, particularly by priests who educated young native boys to serve as interpreters. On the whole, however, language contact between Portuguese and the other languages spoken in Central Maluku seemed to have occurred primarily as a result of trade and intermarriage. There is no indication that the Portuguese actively sought to replace any of the languages in Central Maluku with their own as the Dutch later tried to. Nonetheless an awareness and use of Portuguese developed throughout the Indies, which continued long after the last Portuguese fleet left the region. During the next century superiors of the Dutch East Indies Company in Holland were very annoyed when they heard that Portuguese continued to be spoken in the colony and they proposed measures to stop it. In response Governor-General

¹Baxter notes several varieties of Creole Portuguese that have been spoken until the present century: Malacca; Macao; Hong Kong; Jakaria; Larantuka, Flores; and Dili, East Timor.

Maetsuyker and his council tried to explain why it was futile to take any measures against the use of Portuguese. In 1659 they wrote to their superiors in Holland:

The Portuguese language is an easy language to speak and easy to learn. That is the reason why we cannot prevent the slaves brought here from Arakan who have never heard a word of Portuguese (and indeed even our own children) from taking to that language in preference to all other languages and making it their own. (Boxer 1968:57)

Despite Maetsuyker's explanation, in 1663 orders came from Holland setting out severe punishments for those who spoke Portuguese. By the end of the century, however, the officials had resigned themselves to the situation.

Before looking at further history and other influences on language use in Central Maluku it is helpful to consider Valkhoff's (1972:94,95) comments on the lasting effect of Portuguese in places that became Dutch colonies in the 17th century:

When we study the linguistic conditions which prevailed in the Dutch colonies in the 17th century we must not forget that the Portuguese were the first and the most active colonizers in the world. As from the middle of the 15th century they spread their language to Africa and Asia as well as to America. Next to the literary form, which we could call High Portuguese, a pidginized, creolized or simplified Portuguese was born, which was more or less adapted to the local languages on which it had been imposed (Bantu, Malay or Chinese). Yet we know that this Portuguese *lingua franca* or Low Portuguese had enough unity to be understood from the East to the West Indies. A linguist can still distinguish this basic unity in the remnants that have survived of it. Portuguese Creole was a language of communication – not just commercial, port or slave language – and was generally used, when the Dutch began to conquer the Portuguese colonies. Most traders and sailors had learnt to speak it, and in addition to it the officers of the Dutch Republic also knew High Portuguese, the language of the enemy. Even in newly built towns like Batavia, which was founded after the destruction of Jakatra, Portuguese was very popular.

3.3 1600S AND 1700S – THE DUTCH EAST INDIA COMPANY

In 1605 the Portuguese surrendered their fort on Ambon to the Dutch East India Company (VOC). The primary goal of the VOC for the next two centuries was to establish and maintain a monopoly on the spice trade, but they were also interested in developing a 'proper' Dutch colony in Maluku, an attitude which was reflected in their educational policies.

When Admiral Cornelius Matelief arrived on Ambon in 1607 he immediately set out to make a colony "where the Dutch language ruled" (Brugmans 1938:21). He set up a school near the fort and gave Johannes Wogma, a medical student, the job of teaching a few students while awaiting the arrival of the official preachers who would also be involved in education. From the start Matelief decreed that the Dutch language would be the language of education. However, the effort was doomed to fail. Brugmans (1938:22) describes what happened:

Rev. Caspar Wiltens, who was the first preacher placed on Ambon in 1615, initially favored the use of the Dutch language. Quickly, however, he saw reality: "It was no go with the dull and lazy Ambonese who did not have the desire [to learn Dutch]" (Valentyn [1724]:vol.3; p.36). Thus a native language had to become the language of the church and school. The Ambonese language? This seemed to have fallen apart into so many

dialects that even the inhabitants of western Ambon could not understand the inhabitants of eastern Ambon. So Wilten's choice fell on Malay, a language that had already found an entrance as a common trade language in the region.¹

The question of which language to use in the schools was by no means resolved at that point, however. Just three years later Rev. Sebastianus Danckaerts, the second preacher-teacher, arrived on Ambon wanting to put the Dutch language "on the throne again" (Brugmans 1938:22). The problem of which language to use in education continued to be a matter of controversy in Central Maluku (and to a certain extent in all of the Dutch East Indies) for the next 350 years.

The original school by the fort, when in session, seems to have had a stricter use of Dutch than the other schools which were established soon after. By 1627 there were 16 schools with teachers on Ambon and Lease, and 18 'lesser ones' with circuit teachers (Rumphius 1741 vol.1:59). The schools were considered to be the "right place for religion" and were places "where children could learn to read, pray, and write" (Brugmans 1938:21). From the very beginning, the acceptance of education, Christianity² and the VOC came in one package. Thus, the children who were educated in these schools were only from the traditional Uli Siwa villages which had accepted Christianity in allying themselves with the Portuguese in the previous century.

Even though Malay came to be used in the few schools on Ambon in the 17th century, it was still a second language for both the Dutch school masters and the Ambonese children. On one occasion during this time the children "absented themselves from school because the preacher spoke bad and unintelligible Malay to them" (Cooley 1961:354). There was also debate as to the educational value of these schools, in that motivation to attend may have often been the pound of rice given daily to each student present. Nevertheless, it is significant that these schools were the impetus by which the Malay lingua franca came to be used in education in Central Maluku.

In 1689 a very significant decision affecting language use was made by the colonial government in Batavia. They decided that the Malay spoken in Ambon was 'deficient' and decreed that 'pure' Malay had to be introduced in Ambon. The Dutch used the term *hoog maleisch* 'High Malay' to refer to the official literary Malay (SM). In contrast was *laag-maleisch* 'Low Malay', the regional lingua franca Malay. There are numerous remarks in the Dutch literature that this High Malay was unintelligible to the Ambonese and meant essentially the introduction of a foreign language. Brugmans (1938:27) sees this had a 'crippling' effect on education because, as Valentyn noted in 1724, "the Ambonese could not understand High Malay but could understand Low Malay well". In 1694 the church leaders in Batavia decided preaching could be done in Low Malay, but the preacher-teachers had to learn High Malay to teach the children (Brugmans 1938:28). Thus, SM came to Central Maluku.

Brugmans (1938:24) points out that the hope of using education to establish Dutch as a common language in Central Maluku never totally died out until 1733 when the translation of the High Malay (SM) Bible came off the press.³

¹Original quote: "Ds. Caspar Wiltens, die in 1615 als eerste predikant op Ambon werd geplaatst, was aanvankelijk voor het gebruik van de Nederlandsche taal geporteerd. Spoedig zag hij echter de werkelijkheid: het wilde niet met den botten en luyen Amboinees niet gaan' [Valentijn III, blz. 36]. Daarom moest een inheemsche taal de kerk- en schooltaal worden. De Ambonsche taal? Deze bleek in zoovele dialecten uiteen te vallen, dat zelfs de bewoners van westelijk Ambon de bewoners van het oostergedeelte niet konden verstaan. Zoo viel Wiltens' keuze op het Maleisch, de taal, die toenmaals reeds in deze streken als algemeene verkeerstaal ingang had gevonden."

²After the Dutch arrived, Christianity in Central Maluku developed along lines of the Dutch Calvinist tradition although many forms of Portuguese Catholicism remained.

³Although several Malay translations of the New Testament and other portions of the Bible had been done in the 1600s the Company leaders decided in 1722 to have Rev. Leydekker's High Malay translation revised and finished by Rev. van der Vorm. This decision was after a twenty-year controversy "whether to publish this literary Malay version or a more

The primary reason for maintaining the Dutch language as the language of education had thus fallen. The forming of the students to be true Christians could take place without instruction in Dutch now that catechisms, question books and other religious workbooks were translated into Malay.¹

In Ambon there were complaints about the frequent use of Arab and Persian words in the High Malay translation of the Bible (van Hoëvell 1875:91). This translation had significant and lasting sociolinguistic effects in Ambon in that the Bible became not only a school text for education, but its language – High Malay – was also the foundation for the language of the church in Central Maluku. Even after considerable time this still did not mean that High Malay was intelligible to the average person. The situation in Ambon around 1800 has been described:

The literary Malay was still respected and used, but precisely that language was poorly suited to communicate the Scriptures and sermons because the congregation and most of the teachers themselves understood it very imperfectly. (Cooley 1961:357, translation of Enklaar 1960:26-27)

3.4 THE ENGLISH INTERLUDES – 1796-1803 AND 1810-1817

In 1796 the VOC went bankrupt, at which time the English took over control of Ambon. The area was restored to the Dutch in 1803 but controlled by the English again from 1810-1817 during the Napoleonic Wars in Europe. Although the English were only in control of the East Indies for a brief period, they initiated certain policies reflecting attitudes that continued even after the return of the Dutch colonial government. They did not totally abolish the monopoly on the spice trade, but they did make the entire system more flexible and less oppressive to the villagers. During this time Resident Martin of Ambon gave a good deal of attention to the work of the church and the mission and to the improvement of popular education (van Fraassen 1983:38).

3.5 DUTCH COLONIAL GOVERNMENT – 1817-1948

When the Indies returned once again to Dutch control in 1817 it was no longer the Company but the Dutch colonial government that was in control. After suppressing initial rebellions over the return to Dutch rule, the colonial government became much more involved in the development of the colony through the encouragement of freer trade and the improvement of education. Reflecting changing attitudes in Holland at the time, the government clarified to all government and religious workers that the schools already in existence in Central Maluku were to be considered government schools, not church schools. Kroeskamp (1974:59) points out that at this time the schools were in a state of severe neglect, and even though they were government sponsored, missionary-teachers were encouraged to help improve the quality of education in these schools. In terms of actual practice, this distinction initially had very little effect. For the next fifty or more years education in Central Maluku remained mainly religious in nature, taught primarily only in Christian villages.

colloquial version in Ambon-Malay done by François Valentyn, the historian of the Company" (Cooley 1961:350). By 1733 both the Old and New Testaments were off the press and Leydekker's High Malay translation became the official translation of the Bible (van Boetelaer 1941).

¹Original quote: "*De voornaamste reden om het Nederlandsche als onderwijstaal te handhaven was daarmede vervallen. De vorming der leerlingen tot ware Christenen kon, nu de catechismus, de vragenboekjes en de andere godsdienstige boekwerken reeds in het Maleisch waren vertaald, ook zonder onderricht in het Nederlandsch plaats hebben.*"

It was not until 1871 that the Fundamental Education Decree was passed in the colony, again reflecting the liberal trend in Holland which supported 'freedom of education' and the 'principle of neutrality in publicly maintained education'. This meant that public schools could no longer include religious instruction and that Moslem children would be provided an education as well as Christian children (Kroeskamp 1974:360). But again, a colony-wide decree had little effect in Central Maluku, because there were few schools actually in Moslem villages. Furthermore, the Moslem villages were relatively isolated, even on the island of Ambon.

During the time of the colonial government, language shift from the indigenous language(s) to Malay began to occur in some of the Christian villages on Ambon and Lease. It is difficult to pinpoint exactly when this shift occurred in the different villages, that is, in which generation Malay became the first language of children who never learned the native language indigenous to their village. There is evidence, however, that by the middle of the 19th century this shift had occurred in several Christian villages on Ambon Island (de Clercq 1876:3).

It would be naive to think that religion was the only factor influencing this language shift. In addition to the traditional alliance system which had determined to a large degree which new religion (Islam or Christianity) was adopted by which villages in the 16th century, geography and the topography of Ambon Island were also involved in the linguistic destiny of these villages. The lack of roads on Ambon has made boat travel the primary means of transport from Amboina to many of the villages on the island of Ambon. As Collins (1980b:7) points out, the dangerous exposed capes around Allang make travel to Amboina a very hazardous undertaking during four or five months of the year. Thus many villages, particularly on the north coast and southern tip of Hitu, had much less contact over the years with the Dutch and consequently with using Malay in education and other domains of life.¹

After the middle of the 19th century, government officials and missionaries developed a growing interest in the linguistic situation in Central Maluku. Consequently, much of the linguistic literature on Central Maluku dates from that time forward. Two points can be made from examining this literature. Firstly, many of the authors noted that AM had become the native language in Christian villages by that time. In fact, the word lists of vernacular languages collected in Ambon and Lease at that time were for the most part collected in Moslem villages.² Unfortunately this rise of linguistic interest occurred after the language shift in many of the Christian villages and we are left without any record of the languages spoken in those villages.

Secondly, the distinctiveness of AM from SM and other varieties of Malay spoken in the East Indies, although recognised much earlier, became an issue of much greater debate at this time.

¹Although many of the Christian villages shifted to AM as their first language by the middle of the 19th century, by no means all of them had. In the more isolated Christian villages on Ambon and Lease this gradual shift to AM continues even through the present time. The village of Allang on the tip of the Hitu peninsula has continued to use its indigenous language, although according to Collins (1980a:11) it is now only spoken by those over 60 years of age. This was recently confirmed by Travis (1986b). The Christian village of Waai, a previously relatively isolated village on Ambon, still used its native language 50 years ago (Collins 1981:33). Kotynski (1985) recently found the Haruku language spoken in the Christian village of Hulaliu by those over 40, and likewise in Aboru, also on the island of Haruku. He reports that Christians in the village of Kariu on Haruku (where AM is the first language) "learn to speak Haruku as a second language as they get older because they live between two Muslim villages (Pelauw and Ori), which are strong in their use of the language" (p.10). On Nusa Laut, Kotynski found little use of the indigenous language as all the villages are Christian. He was, however, able to collect a 200-item word list in the Nusa Laut language from the village head of Titawai (p.12), indicating that some knowledge of the original language is still around. This all suggests that in Central Maluku there is some truth in Bickerton's (1981:75) statement, "although languages, like people, die, they do not, like some people, drop dead".

²Besides AM, these 19th century word lists included the languages of Haruku, Saparua, Nusa Laut, Batu Merah, Allang, Wai, Hitu, Hila, Larike, Asilulu (Negri Empat), Lilliboi and several languages from Seram and Buru.

Several writers pointed out the differences between AM and the Malay (SM) being used in education in other parts of the East Indies. Van Hoëvell (1877:91) discussed the SM versus AM dilemma, noting that these two varieties of Malay were non-intelligible, and that he considered AM a 'patois'. In 1867 van der Chijs, the Inspector General of schools in the East Indies, made a trip around the colony and decided that the Malay spoken in the schools of Ambon was 'abominable' (Brugmans 1938:234). De Clercq (1876:3) noted that "even if Riau Malay [SM] is diligently taught in the schools of the Moluccas it is doubtful that it would ever be used as the general language there" (translation from Collins 1980a:9).

Several missionary-teachers became involved in this SM-versus-AM debate and actually took to promoting the use of AM, in particular B.N.J. Roskott, an educator by profession, who wrote many schoolbooks and readers in AM, including an explanation in AM of words used in the High Church Malay liturgy. (See Steinhauer's 'On Malay in eastern Indonesia in the 19th century' in this volume for further information about Roskott.) He also translated several lengthy works into AM, including an adaptation of *Pilgrim's Progress* of over 455 pages, books on Biblical history, and the New Testament (Kroeskamp 1974:73,74). By far the most significant educator in Ambon during the latter part of the 19th century (he was head of the first teacher training college in the Indies, established in Ambon), Roskott oversaw the running of a printing press in Ambon to publish educational material and popular literature in AM.

Another significant development in the late 19th century was the establishment of the Ambon *Burgher* ('Citizens') school. During the time of the VOC, a privileged class of Ambonese had developed who rendered services to the Company and consequently came to consider themselves in a much higher social class than the 'toiling' villagers. Kroeskamp (1974:50,51) describes one result of this attitude:

This feeling of contempt went so far that quite a considerable number of 'burghers' did not send their children to school, because they would be in the same classroom together with the offspring of the despised villagers. To meet the objections of the 'burghers' a school was established in the principal town of Amboina in 1858, which was especially intended for the children of Amboinese 'burghers' and headed by a Netherlands headmaster, assisted by qualified assistant teachers, who were Amboinese 'burghers'. The Dutch language occupied an important place among the subjects taught. In 1869 the special character of the school was officially recognized by the government. From that time onwards it was called the Amboinese 'burgher' (citizen's) school. Apart from its pedagogical merits...it must from a psychological point of view have given rise to a considerable escalation of the feeling of superiority on the part of the Amboinese 'citizenry'.

For several decades the elite in Ambon were among the few who could receive an education in Dutch in the East Indies. In 1914 Dutch schools (*Hollandsch-Inlandsche*) for local children were started throughout the East Indies, but the Ambonese continued to be treated by the Dutch as 'favoured sons' and were often given preferred positions in the military and colonial government. The term *Belanda hitam* 'Black Dutchman' came to be used in referring to the Ambonese because of their adoption of the Dutch language and their Dutch education and values. An 1896 military publication, *Indisch Militair Tijdschrift*, includes a description of the Ambonese at that time:

Very lively by nature, which can possibly be attributed to their kinship with the Papuan race, they have a proud, haughty character, and pride themselves on their nationality while, because they profess the Christian faith, they regard themselves as superior to the

other peoples in our archipelago and imagine themselves as nearer the Europeans. They are very proud of the many ways in which they have been put on an equal footing with the Europeans. (van Kaam 1980:34)

The ethnic pride of the Ambonese at this time was very much associated with language. Cooley (1961:121, 122) notes the effects of the use of Malay throughout the Christian Ambonese society and the use of Dutch among the educated class:

It would be going much too far to suggest that the weakening of the indigenous language was foreseen by the leaders of the Company and that in fact the policy was fashioned to achieve this. But one of the significant results of substituting Malay for the native tongue was that the Christian Ambonese were thereby set apart from the other inhabitants of the region, both the Moluccans and those who had come from other parts of the Indies, all of whom were either Muslims or pagans. The Christian Ambonese were thereby encouraged to think of themselves as different from the others, as possessing a higher civilization than the others, of being superior to the others, of being closer to the Dutch than the others. This last attitude was considerably enhanced when Ambonese acquired facility in the Dutch language. Malay was a stepping-stone to this coveted achievement, for by reaching it a whole new world of experience and status was opened to the Ambonese. Most educated Ambonese until today are more at home in Dutch than in Malay. And these are completely ignorant of their native tongue, or rather of the indigenous language of their region, for Dutch is really their native tongue. Of course, the educated group is the tiny minority of the Christian Ambonese. For the majority Malay is the mother tongue. The effect of this linguistic trait on the personality of the Ambonese should not be underestimated, especially in regard to the relations between the Christian Ambonese and the others, and between the Christian Ambonese and the Javanese, the majority of whom, until very recently, at least, spoke a vernacular language, Javanese.

3.6 THE SECOND WORLD WAR

During the brief but stressful time of World War II, in which much of Amboina was bombed, Japanese and Australian soldiers occupied parts of Central Maluku. AM continued to play a significant role as a lingua franca, including between the soldiers and the local people. Under Japanese control, Japanese was the language of government and the use of Dutch was forbidden and no longer used in education even though it had already become the first language of the elite educated class in Ambon. Japanese was taught in all government schools during this time (Alisjahbana 1956:17, 18). The Japanese also promoted the use of Indonesian which they officially recognised and even formed a *Komisi Bahasa Indonesia* 'Indonesian Language Commission' to develop new and modern words in the language (Prentice 1978:29).

3.7 INDEPENDENCE AND THE REPUBLIC OF INDONESIA

In 1945, at the end of the War, Sukarno declared the Republic of Indonesia to be a sovereign state. For several years the Dutch attempted to regain control of their colony but failed and Maluku became part of the independent Republic of Indonesia. An attempt by the Ambonese to secede and form the Republic of the South Moluccas failed, but indicates the nature and strength of the Ambonese sense of identity.

At the time of independence Bahasa Indonesia (BI) was declared the national language. In 1949 the Department of Education was charged with the oversight of all government schools. In Central Maluku BI then became the official language of government and education.

Pre-1400	Exchange of cloves and nutmeg for cloth and other commodities carried out by Asian traders in Maluku for centuries.
1401	City of Malacca founded which became the centre of Southeast Asian commerce. Malay spoken as the lingua franca.
1460	Islam to Ternate and Banda. Under sultans' influence, Islam soon spread to Hoamoal on Seram and north coast of Ambon.
1500	
1511	Portuguese gained control of Malacca.
1512	Portuguese fleet sailed to Banda.
1524	Permanent Portuguese residence built on Hitu, Ambon. Uli Siwa villages desired Portuguese protection against Ternate and Hitu.
1546	Xavier visited Ambon when Uli Siwa villages accepted Christianity.
1547	Jesuit mission to Maluku began, administered from Goa via Malacca. Jesuits noted widespread use of Malay in Maluku, and used it in their work.
1575	Portuguese fort at Ternate surrendered to Sultan. <i>Casados</i> and their families fled to Ambon.
1576	Portuguese fort, <i>Nossa Senhora da Anunciada</i> , built in Amboina. Continuous native warfare in the area, Uli Lima vs Uli Siwa.
1600	
1605	Dutch (VOC) took Ambon fort and sought monopoly on spice trade.
1607	First Dutch schoolmaster, Johannes Wogma, to Ambon.
1624	Six schools in Ambon and Lease and 18 'lesser' schools. Attempts at education in Dutch language unsuccessful. Education mostly in Malay.
1689	Malay on Ambon noted as 'deficient'. Decision made by VOC to introduce High Malay in Ambon. Numerous reports of unintelligibility between the two varieties of Malay.
1700	
1733	Leydekker's translation of Bible in High Malay published. 'Literary' Malay used in sermons but poorly understood.
1796	English gained control of Ambon.
1800	
1803	Dutch resumed control in Ambon.
1810	English again in control.
1817	Dutch control of Ambon; now Dutch colonial government.
1850	Language shift: AM spoken as the first language in many Christian villages by the mid 1800s.
1869	Official recognition of Ambonese 'Citizens' school for upper-class Ambonese, taught by Dutch teachers in Dutch.
1871	<i>Fundamental Education Decree</i> : government schools were to provide education for children of all religions. SM vs AM debate among missionaries and educators. Translations and educational books printed in AM by Roskott.
1900	
1914	Native Dutch (' <i>Hollandsch-Inlandsche</i> ') schools started throughout the Dutch East Indies.
1943	Japanese in control. Japanese taught in all government schools. Use of Dutch forbidden, and use of Malay encouraged.
1945	Republic of Indonesia (RI) declared, BI as the national language.
1950	RI Department of Education in charge of schools. BI used as language of education and government.

FIGURE 1: HISTORICAL INFLUENCES ON LANGUAGE USE IN CENTRAL MALUKU

4. A LINGUISTIC PROFILE OF AMBONESE MALAY

This section examines several aspects of AM illustrating the correlation between the social and historical data discussed above and AM linguistic data. Some linguistic features of AM were

discussed earlier when AM was compared to SM. The intent here is to examine more than just the differences between AM and SM, and to consider how the numerous languages which were historically in contact in Central Maluku have contributed to the development of AM. The lexicon of AM is considered first, then the structure.

4.1 THE AM LEXICON

MALAY

It was noted earlier that the majority of the AM lexicon is comprised of Malay words, although there are frequent phonological and semantic differences between AM and SM today. Using Givón's (1979:19) terminology, Malay can be called the *l-language*, the lexifier, which "contributed the bulk of the lexical stems (words/morphemes)" to AM. There has been a considerable degree of contact with other foreign languages in Central Maluku and these too have contributed to the lexicon of AM, but none have done so to the degree that Malay has.

In light of the heavy contribution of Malay to the AM lexicon, it is noteworthy that Central Maluku is relatively far from the homeland of native Malay speakers. There is evidence there may have been a few native Malays and Javanese living in Ternate at the time of Islamisation in the late 15th century (Reid 1984:21), but contact was localised to the commercial centres of Ternate and Banda. In the 17th century the Dutch were ruthless in ridding the area of all Moslem traders.

Moslem traders also brought Malay to other parts of Southeast Asia where it is no longer used today, such as the Philippines. In Central Maluku, however, after the arrival of the Europeans the use of Malay did not decline but was actually fostered by them. Portuguese priests learned Malay in Malacca to use in their work in Maluku because Malay was already in use as a lingua franca there. After the arrival of the Dutch in 1605 attempts were made initially to educate local children in Dutch. Those attempts were soon abandoned and Malay (a second language for the Dutch as well as the local children) was used in the few schools that were established. Hardly more than 50 years later the Dutch government, centralised at Batavia on Java by then, noted that the Malay spoken around Ambon was somehow not 'proper'. In 1689 the decision was made that 'High Malay' (SM) had to be used in the schools on Ambon rather than the "Low Malay" that was spoken locally. In the 18th century the Bible was translated into High Malay and used as the foundational text in schools in Central Maluku. Preaching was supposed to be done in the churches in High Malay. In the 20th century Malay came again to Maluku as BI, the national language of Indonesia.

PORTUGUESE

Because the Portuguese were the first Europeans in Maluku and because they were there for almost the entire 16th century, it is not surprising to find lexical items of Portuguese origin in AM. AM names for items introduced at that time (such as chair, table, hat) are of Portuguese origin. In addition, names for body parts, family relationships and some homey items are of Portuguese origin as Abdurachman (1972:1) has noted, reflecting the fact that Portuguese soldiers and Portuguese-speaking slaves married local women and were eventually absorbed into Ambonese society.

Table 4 gives a sampling of AM words of Portuguese origin (adapted from Abdurachman 1972 and C. Grimes 1985). Some of these words can be found in other lingua franca Malays which had contact with Portuguese as well, but all the AM items listed here have different forms in SM or lack a SM equivalent. In the chart the SM equivalent of the AM gloss is listed. Numerous other words of Portuguese origin are to be found in both SM and AM.

TABLE 4: SOME PORTUGUESE LOANWORDS IN AMBONESE MALAY

AM		PORTUGUESE*		SM
<i>asar</i>	smoke s.t.	<i>assar</i>	roast s.t.	<i>mengasapi</i>
<i>balanse</i>	swing (in dance)	<i>balance</i>	swing (in dance)	Ø
<i>bandolir</i>	woman's sash	<i>bandoleira</i>	shoulder-belt	<i>selendang</i>
<i>baniang</i>	vest coat	<i>banian</i>	vest coat	Ø
<i>barangko</i>	ravine	<i>barranco</i>	ravine	<i>jurang</i>
<i>batatas</i>	yams	<i>batatas</i>	potato, sweet potato	<i>ubi</i>
<i>bolu</i>	k.o. cake	<i>bolo</i>	cake	Ø
<i>capeo</i>	hat	<i>chapeu</i>	hat	<i>topi</i>
<i>forna/porna</i>	baked sago mould	<i>forno</i>	oven	Ø
<i>gargantang</i>	throat	<i>garganta</i>	throat	<i>rongkonggan</i>
<i>matagarida</i>	flirt	<i>garrida</i>	coquettish	<i>mainmata</i>
<i>goyaba</i>	guava/guava cake	<i>goiaba</i>	guava	<i>jambu</i>
<i>kadera</i>	chair	<i>cadeira</i>	chair	<i>kursi</i>
<i>kantar</i>	sing hymns/psalms	<i>cantar</i>	sing	<i>menānī</i>
<i>kapitang</i>	war chief	<i>capitão</i>	ship captain, admin.	Ø
<i>kaskadu</i>	skin disease	<i>cascado</i>	peeled	Ø
<i>kastrol</i>	cooking pot	<i>caçarola</i>	cooking pot	<i>belanga</i>
<i>kintal</i>	yard	<i>quintal</i>	(back)yard	<i>halaman</i>
<i>konādu</i>	brother-in-law	<i>cunhado</i>	brother-in-law	<i>ipar</i>
<i>lenso</i>	head turban, handkerchief	<i>lenço</i>	handkerchief	<i>sapu tangan</i>
<i>loko</i>	crazy	<i>louco</i>	crazy	<i>gila</i>
<i>maitua</i>	wife	<i>mãe</i>	mother(familiar)	<i>istri/ibu</i>
<i>mancadu</i>	axe	<i>machado</i>	axe	<i>kapak</i>
<i>marsego</i>	bat	<i>morcego</i>	bat	<i>keluang</i>
<i>nōra</i>	pastor's wife, village head's wife	<i>senhora</i>	lady	<i>ibu/nōnā</i>
<i>ose/os/se</i>	2SG	<i>voce</i>	2SG	<i>kamu/engkau</i>
<i>paitua</i>	husband, elder	<i>pai</i>	father(familiar)	<i>suami/bapa?</i>
<i>papinū</i>	cucumber	<i>pepino</i>	cucumber	<i>ketimun</i>
<i>par/por</i>	for	<i>para/por</i>	for	<i>untu?/bagi</i>
<i>parlente</i>	fake	<i>parlenda</i>	tall tale	?
<i>pasiar</i>	take a stroll	<i>passear</i>	to stroll	<i>jalan-jalan</i>
<i>salobar</i>	brackish water	<i>salobre</i>	brackish	<i>payau</i>
<i>seng</i>	no, not	<i>sem</i>	no, without	<i>tida?/bukan</i>
<i>sinō</i>	boy (caucasian)	<i>senhor</i>	adult male	<i>'tuan muda'</i>
<i>sombar</i>	shade	<i>sombra</i>	shadow	<i>naung</i>
<i>sono</i>	deep sleep	<i>sono</i>	asleep	<i>idur</i>
<i>totoruga</i>	sea tortoise	<i>tartaruga</i>	turtle, tortoise	<i>penū</i>
<i>testa</i>	forehead	<i>testa</i>	forehead	<i>dahi</i>

*While the AM and SM words are written here somewhat phonemically, the Portuguese is shown using common spelling and does not necessarily reflect 16th century pronunciation.

DUTCH

Like Portuguese, contact with the Dutch language in Central Maluku has resulted in a noticeable amount of lexical borrowing. As one would expect, names for many technical and introduced items in AM (and BI) are of Dutch origin, such as *slot* 'lock', *skop* 'spade/shovel', *klakson* 'horn'. Several Ambonese kinship terms are of Dutch origin: *tante* 'aunt', *om* 'uncle', *opa* 'grandfather', *oma* 'grandmother'. Dutch *jongen* has come to be AM *nōng*, an extremely common term for 'boy/lad' in Ambon. Because of the prestige of using Dutch, different idiolects (particularly higher class ones) contain a greater number of Dutch words, including the use of Dutch pronouns in place of AM pronouns.

LOCAL LANGUAGES

While most of the AM lexicon is comprised of words recognisably from languages originally foreign to Central Maluku, some lexical items have their sources in either the languages that AM replaced or other local languages. These items tend to be names for traditional social positions or artifacts which did not have an obvious equivalent in any of the foreign languages which came to the area. Examples of such items are *nani* 'instrument for pounding sago' and *sahani runut* 'trough for processing sago'. Cooley (1961:297) attributes a Seram origin to the AM term *saniri* 'village council'. For centuries there has also been significant regional interaction, for both political and economic reasons, between the islands throughout eastern Indonesia, giving rise to the possibility of some lexical borrowing in AM from native languages spoken in areas outside of Central Maluku. Several words of Ternatan origin are used in AM, such as *soa*, 'kin group, clan'. Collins (pers. comm.) has suggested a Makassarese origin for some AM lexical items.

4.2 AM STRUCTURE

Despite its foreign lexicon, the most profitable way to understand the structure of AM is in reference to native Central Moluccan languages. In 1981 Collins pointed out many 'Asilulan-like' (an indigenous language on Ambon island) features in AM in his article "*Pertembungan Linguistik di Indonesia Timur: Bahasa Melayu dan Bahasa Asilulu di Pulau Ambon*" ['Linguistic development in eastern Indonesia: Malay and Asilulu on Ambon Island']. In other articles he has pointed out other calques from Asilulu to AM. Upon learning the Central Moluccan language of Buru, I became aware of many Buru-like features in AM. As yet there is no complete grammatical description of a Central Maluku language, yet the data that does exist shows how strongly "the indigenous languages influenced Ambonese Malay" Collins (1983b:35). The following sections note a few of many possible examples.

(a) Possession

The AM possessive construction was described in section 2 as:

POSSESSOR + Possessive Particle + POSSESSED

Collins (1983a:35) notes how the order of the nouns in the AM possessive constructions parallels the order of the nouns in the Asilulu possessive construction:

The fact that the only sequence of nouns in Asilulu possessive constructions in NP1 NP2 may be related to the choice of NP1 *punā* NP2 sequence in AM over the alternative NP2 NP1 form of many other dialects of Malay.

The order of the nouns in the Buru possessive construction likewise parallels AM. Buru differentiates the possessive particle according to person and number while AM uses a single possessive (POS) word *punā/pung*, as shown:

	POSSESSOR	Possessive Particle	POSSESSED	
(AM)	<i>bet(a)</i>	<i>pung</i>	<i>ruma</i>	my house
	<i>os(e)</i>	<i>pung</i>	<i>mata</i>	your eye
	<i>angtua</i>	<i>pung</i>	<i>bini</i>	his wife
	<i>katong</i>	<i>pung</i>	<i>kabong</i>	our field
	<i>kamong</i>	<i>pung</i>	<i>dusung</i>	your (PL) orchard
	<i>dorang</i>	<i>pung</i>	<i>cengke</i>	their cloves
(Buru)	<i>ya</i>	<i>nang</i>	<i>huma</i>	my house
	<i>kae</i>	<i>nam</i>	<i>raman</i>	your eye
	<i>rin</i>	<i>na?</i>	<i>finhaa</i>	his wife
	<i>kami</i>	<i>nam</i>	<i>hawa</i>	our field
	<i>kimi</i>	<i>nim</i>	<i>waslale</i>	your (PL) orchards
	<i>sir</i>	<i>nun</i>	<i>buglawan</i>	their cloves

Embedded possessive constructions in AM again parallel Buru and, although similar to other forms of lingua franca Malay in eastern Indonesia, are significantly different from SM.

(SM) *perahu bapa? saya*
boat father 1SG

(AM) *beta pung papi pung koli-koli*

(Buru) *ya nang ama na? waga*
1SG POS father POS boat

my father's boat

Van Hoëvell's (1877:32) notes on AM also contain examples of this common type of possessive construction, such as the following:

Malam beta maoe pergi ka laoet moengail dan tjahari ikan par
night 1SG want go to sea to.fish and hunt fish for

beta poenja bini dan anaq poenja makan.
1SG POS wife and child POS eat

Tonight I'll go to the sea and hunt fish for my wife and children's food.

(b) Specifying number of plural subjects and objects (third person plural pronoun as plural marker)

AM frequently specifies the number of plural subjects and objects, particularly two and three. This can be specified in SM, but is rarely done. This and the frequent use of the third person plural pronoun as a general plural marker parallels Buru.

(AM) *Dong dua s-pi deng Abdul dong.*
3PL two perfective-go with Abdul 3PL

(Buru) *Sir rua iko haik tu Abdul sira.*
 3PL wo go perfective with Abdul 3PL

The two of them already left with Abdul them [Abdul and those with him].

(c) Idioms

In describing idiomatic expressions in Cameroon Pidgin English and Tok Pisin, Todd and Mühlhäusler (1978:2) note that Cameroon Pidgin "reflects an African way of life" especially in its idioms which often calque from vernacular languages. Likewise, many AM idioms reflect Central Moluccan thinking and way of life. For example, the AM word for elder sibling, *kaka*, is also used to mean 'placenta/afterbirth' reflecting the Central Moluccan belief that a child is in a younger sibling relationship to his/her placenta.

(SM)	<i>tembuni</i>	placenta
(SM)	<i>kaka?</i>	elder sibling
(AM)	<i>kaka</i>	elder sibling, placenta
(Buru)	<i>kai</i>	elder same sex sibling, placenta

It is hardly surprising to find more AM idioms expressing Central Moluccan ideas and metaphors.

(SM) *keras kepala*
 hard head
 stubborn

(AM) *kapala batu*
 (Buru) *ol- fatu*
 head stone
 stubborn

(SM) *badan-nā sudah kurus*
 body 3SG POS perfective thin
 She's become skinny.

(AM) *dia pung badan s-turung*
 3SG POS body perfective-descend
 She's become skinny.

(Buru) *na? fatan toho haik*
 3SG.POS body descend perfective
 She's become skinny.

(SM) *pelipis*
 temple, side of head

(AM) *tampa mati*
 (Buru) *elen mata*
 place die
 temple, side of head

(d) Directionals

Collins (1981:39-44) points out how the SM terms *hulu* and *hilir* 'upstream and downstream' are not used in AM. Instead, the directionals found in Central Moluccan languages calque into AM.

Asilulu directionals (from Collins 1981:40):

<i>lete</i>	to mountains
<i>wehe</i>	towards the cape/peninsula
<i>lau</i>	seaward
<i>la</i>	landward
<i>hali</i>	away from the cape/peninsula

Buru directionals:

<i>saka</i>	up [mountains/coast]
<i>pao</i>	down [mountains/coast]
<i>lawe</i>	seaward, downstream
<i>dae</i>	landward, upstream
<i>aki</i>	opposite side

AM directionals:

<i>atas</i>	up [mountains/coast]
<i>bawa</i>	down [mountains/coast]
<i>lau</i>	seaward, downstream
<i>dara</i>	landward, upstream

Buru *saka* 'up' and *pao* 'down' are the general terms for referring to up and down and are used in relation to anything, not just up or down the mountains or coast. The same is true for AM *atas* 'up' and *bawa* 'down', for example:

- (Buru) *Sir iko gam saka.*
 (AM) *Dong pi ka atas.*
 3PL go toward up
 They went up [the mountains/coast].
- (Buru) *Tahu saka.*
 (AM) *Taru atas.*
 put up
 Put it up there.

(e) Quantifiers

Van Hoëvell (1877:27) noted that in five languages of Ambon and Lease (Asilulu, Saparua, Nusalaut, Haruku and Hila) "the quantifying word stands not *before* – as in Malay – but *after* the noun". His example of Asilulu *lumaa telu* 'three houses' (as well as Buru *humar telo*) parallels the word order in the name of a village on Ambon which had three original clans: *Ruma Tiga*. Frequently comments are made about the name of this village, as SM would be *tiga rumah*.

(f) Prepositions

In Buru the preposition *tu* functions as an instrumental, comitative, and reason preposition. In AM the preposition *deng* also functions as instrument, comitative and reason. In SM *dengan* is primarily instrumental (also comitative), *dan* is comitative/coordinating, and *karena* used for reason. Where SM would use three prepositions, AM can use one, paralleling Buru.

'with' [Instrumental]

- (Buru) *sopi gehut tu katanan*
 (AM) *kupas kaladi deng piso*
 (SM) *kupas keladi dengan pisau*
 peel taro with knife
 peel the taro with a knife

'and' [Comitative/Coordinating]

- (Buru) *Usi An tu na? ina*
 (AM) *Usi An deng dia pung mama*
 (SM) *[Kaka?] An dan ibu-nā*
 elder sister Ann and 3SG POS mother(-genitive)
 elder sister Ann and her mother

'because' [Reason]

- (Buru) *Rogo tu dekat!*
 (AM) *Maso deng ujang!*
 (SM) *Masu? karena hujan!*
 enter because rain
 Come inside, it's raining!

5. THE USE OF AM IN CENTRAL MALUKU TODAY

Various sociolinguistic factors which influence how AM is used in Central Maluku society today are discussed in this section. The functionally differentiated uses of AM and other languages are discussed initially in terms of diglossia. Then I argue that because diglossia alone is not sufficient to totally explain how AM is used, it is necessary to also see AM as the basolect, or Low, in an acrolect-basolect post-creole continuum with BI functioning as the acrolect, or High.

5.1 DIGLOSSIA

The phenomenon that different speech varieties are commonly assigned different tasks in multilingual societies was described as diglossia by Ferguson in 1959. He considered the functions or situations calling for a 'High' (H) dialect to be those which were "decidedly formal and guarded" while those calling for the 'Low' (L) dialect were informal, homey and relaxed. In 1967 Fishman expanded the concept of diglossia to include "several separate codes" (versus only two), and to exist between "language varieties of whatever kind" – speech registers, dialects or totally separate languages, not just between "moderately distinct varieties of the same language" as Ferguson had indicated earlier (discussed in Fasold 1984:34f.,40ff.).

Fishman's approach to diglossia is useful in understanding language use in Central Maluku for several reasons. Firstly, some Central Moluccan speech communities use a plurality of languages – not just two. Secondly, while it may initially be difficult to describe the exact linguistic relationship between AM and BI, Fishman's model recognises that "language varieties of whatever kind" can form a diglossic pair or triad. For diglossia, the exact relationship between AM and BI is not important. What is important is the fact that they are functionally differentiated according to domains

of language use. The ideal domains of language use for native speakers of AM in Central Maluku are illustrated in Figure 2.¹

Speaking to s.o. from C. Maluku	AM		
Talking with family/friends	AM		
Letter to family	AM		
Love songs	AM		
Folk proverbs (<i>pantung</i>)	AM		
Education: primary school		BI	
University lecture		BI	
Formal poetry recitation		BI	
Political speech		BI	
Talking with government officials		BI	
Sermon			Church Malay

FIGURE 2: IDEAL DOMAINS BY NATIVE SPEAKERS OF AM

In Central Maluku television programs are received by satellite from Jakarta. There are local government sponsored radio stations in Central Maluku, with some scripts/programs coming from Jakarta and others written locally. Daily Jakarta newspapers and weekly news magazines are sold in Amboina, along with a local weekly newspaper, *Pos Maluku*.

Radio/TV news		BI
Television programs		BI
Radio: agricultural tips	AM	BI
Radio: personal messages	AM	BI
Jakarta newspaper/magazines		BI
<i>Pos Maluku</i>	AM	BI

FIGURE 3: LANGUAGE USE BY VARIOUS MEDIA

It is important to realise that while these domains do reflect actual language use, they are also very much *ideals*. BI, as a second language, is spoken with varying degrees of proficiency and frequently, when proficiency is limited, a speaker switches into AM, even in formal settings where BI typically should be spoken. This phenomena has been described to me as *lari ka basa Ambong*, 'running to AM'. Fasold (1984:36) notes that the "H is always an 'add-on' language, learned after L has been substantially acquired, usually by formal teaching in school". This is true in Central Maluku and explains why higher levels of proficiency in the H (BI) are restricted to the educated elite.

Education is typically a domain in which the H is used in diglossic communities. BI, the H, is assigned to the domain of education in Central Maluku. However, in order to communicate with students, a good deal of AM is used in schools, even at the university level, for explanation and interaction between teacher and students.

In diglossic situations it is also typical for a considerable amount of prestige to be associated with the H. Fasold (1984:36) describes this:

The attitude of speakers in diglossic communities is typically that H is the superior, more elegant, and more logical language. L is believed to be inferior, even to the point that its

¹The use of Malay as a lingua franca in a diglossic relationship with BI which developed from the more literary form of Malay, is not really surprising. Diglossia between La antuka Malay and BI has been described by Kumanireng (1982).

existence is denied. Ferguson (1972:237) reports that many educated Arabs and Haitians insist that they never use L, when it is quite apparent that they always use it in ordinary conversation. This insistence is not a deliberate lie, but rather a sort of self-deception. Even people who do not understand H well insist that it be used in formal settings such as political speeches or poetry recitations. High regard for H and its appropriateness for elevated function outranks intelligibility as a criterion for the choice of dialect in these situations.

In Central Maluku many of these same attitudes have developed toward BI as the H and more superior language since it has become the national language of the Republic of Indonesia. At the same time, native AM speakers have a sense of pride in their own culture and in AM and see it as very legitimate in certain domains. If someone told folk stories or *pantung* (proverbs) in BI he would lose his audience, but telling them in AM captivates the audience.

In many descriptions of diglossia, letter writing (or anything in the written mode) is associated with the H. Native speakers of AM, however, have no difficulty in writing some things in AM and have been doing so for several centuries. SM (BI) is seen as the ideal for writing formal material, but AM is used in personal letter writing and other items of a 'non-official' nature. It should be recalled that at the end of the last century a significant amount of literature in AM was produced by Roskott and others at the teacher training college in Ambon, so the use of AM in the written mode was legitimated in the past, although it is no longer encouraged in formal education.

As with speaking, attempts at writing SM are still influenced by AM. Teeuw (1961:48) describes a number of songs collected in Central Maluku and published by Joest (1892) as written in a kind of Malay which had "been worked up as much as possible into official Malay, but still smells of Amboinese Malay". This is also illustrated in the following excerpts from a letter written by the widow of the Raja of SiriSori on Saparua to the Dutch Resident of Ambon on the 7th of December 1817. The widow signed the letter with an X and it is not known who wrote the letter for her, but the language used is basically AM, with occasional SM suffixes. Since this was an official letter to the Resident, we can see it as an early 19th century attempt at formal written Malay (SM), which turned out looking very much like AM:

Tetapi pada 26. harij derij Bulang Meij, bijta suruw pangil bijta punja Lakij, punja sudarah nama Welhelmina Kesaulija, datang pada melihat barang2ku sebab bijta ada sakit, dan tijada boleh bangon derij tempatku, dan bijta minta derij itu sudarah djika bijta djadi matij ija tulong sarahkan ini barang2 jang ada, dalam tangan bijta punja Lakij.... d...marika itu sudah mentjurij itu kupan dan barang2, sedang wakhtu di 'awrang mentjurij, ini Saptu [name of a slave] pitja dinding dan masokh didalam dan ini tiga tamannja djaga diluwar, dan ija sudah melihat di 'awrang bawa keluwar lima kaduw kupan dan barang2 derij pakejan bungkus2, ata itu bejta kasij tahu pada njora Radja. Sebab bejta tahu jang njora ada sakit paja, maka itu bejta tijada baranij pada menjatakan hal ini pada njora dengar, djangan lebeh susah antara sakitanmu... (in Leirissa et al., eds 1982:40-42)

Some of the notable AM features in this letter include the use of the first person singular pronoun *bijta* [beta], the AM possessive construction including the embedded possessive phrase *bijta punja Lakij punja saudara* 'my husband's sibling'. There is frequent use of the AM term *nōra* referring to the wife of the *raja*, the local headman.

Besides being used in writing, for a long time AM has also been used for composing songs. Currently, several young pop rock singers in Ambon are creating new songs in AM. If a singer

becomes well enough known to move on to the national capital in Jakarta, his songs become more influenced by BI as he accomodates his non-Ambonese audience. The following is a recent pop song, composed by Johny Putuhena. It is one of many songs composed and sung by young Ambonese males and sold on cassette tapes in stores in Amboina.

*Jane Oh...Jane
 Nona Batu Gaja
 Mata Garida Rambu Pata Mayang
 Se biking bet seng sono nona E...
 Mulai dari katong baku dapa Oh...Jane
 Se biking hati beta
 Sioh takaruang sabang hari ale
 La tunggu se mangaku nona E...
 Beta tunggu-tunggu jua nona E...
 Sampe kalo se mangaku beta la badansa
 Beta keke beta polo se katong dua badansa
 La dansa reggae E... Oh...Jane
 Bet pung hati sanang
 Le dengar ale su mangaku nona
 Deng apa lai ale bilang beta
 Sabang hari antar ale nona...*

One of the distinguishing social features of these songs is the proud use of AM. The songs are very well liked in Ambonese society and they are one of the few socially acceptable domains for the creative public expression of AM. In the market one can occasionally find a T-shirt proudly declaring in AM *Beta cinta os lebe* 'I love you more', a phrase from another popular song. In the above song, the phrase *Se biking bet seng sono nona, e...mulai dari katong baku dapa* 'You make me not sleep, girl, ever since we first met' is 'true' AM; it would be expressed very differently in SM.

While AM functions as the L and is considered inferior, less elegant, in relation to BI, AM itself can be considered an H in relation to local Central Moluccan vernaculars. There is often more prestige associated with AM than with Central Moluccan vernaculars. For the speakers of these vernaculars, AM is an 'add-on' language, although often learned at an early age. The domains of language use by second-language speakers of AM are charted in Figure 4.

Everyday village life	vernacular			
Talking to family	vernacular			
Talking to 'outsiders'		AM		
Education			BI	
Political speech			BI	
Talking to officials			BI	
Religion				Arabic/Church Malay

FIGURE 4: IDEAL DOMAINS OF LANGUAGE USE BY SECOND LANGUAGE SPEAKERS OF AM

Language use in the speech communities of Central Maluku can best be described as multilevel diglossia. Arabic and Church Malay function in specialised domains as the languages of religion. In native AM speech communities, AM is lower in prestige than BI which is used in domains of officialdom. In indigenous vernacular speech communities, the vernaculars have lower prestige than AM which is used as a lingua franca with non-vernacular speakers. This is diagrammed in Figure 5.

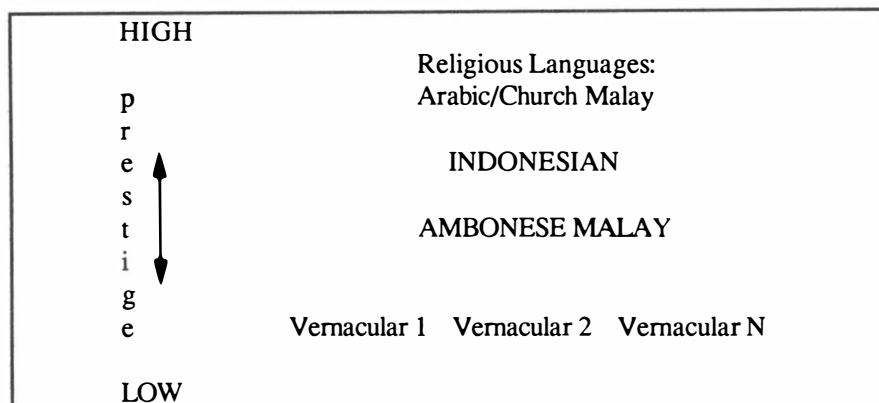


FIGURE 5: MULTILEVEL DIGLOSSIA IN CENTRAL MALUKU

5.2 AM AND BI: A CENTRAL MOLUCCAN POST-CREOLE CONTINUUM

In the diglossic setting of Central Maluku one not only hears people speaking 'proper' BI in the H domains and 'pure' AM in the L domains, but one also frequently hears people speaking a mixture of BI and AM. When someone is speaking 'proper' BI it is easily identifiable by the affixation, pronouns and other SM features. Likewise, it is possible to identify when someone is speaking 'pure' AM by the phonology, pronouns, minimal use of affixes, word order and other features unique to AM. However, when people are mixing the two speech forms it is not easy to label speech as either BI or AM. Mixing of AM and BI is especially common when people adjust their speech to accommodate outsiders unfamiliar with AM or when people are in situations requiring them to speak BI but their proficiency is limited and they *lari ka basa Ambong* 'run to AM'.

Mixed speech levels are characteristic of basolect-acrolect continuums, which typically occur when creoles are in contact with their original lexifying language. This can be illustrated by looking at a classic case of a post-creole acrolect-basolect continuum from Jamaica:

The post-creole continuum situation may be illustrated by reference to Jamaica, where, between the 'pure' creole described by Bailey (1966) and the standard Jamaican English, which is on par with all other international forms of standard English, there is a wide range of varieties of English, some nearer the creole end of the spectrum, some nearer the standard end. The two end points are mutually unintelligible but there is no break in the spectrum, and most Jamaicans are adept at manipulating several adjacent varieties of the continuum. There is some correlation between age, education, social status and the section of the spectrum that Jamaicans can command, but rigid correlations cannot be drawn....The effects of Jamaican creole on a speaker's English may be seen in pronunciation, intonation patterns, lexical selection and sentence structure. And these influences may appear singly or in different combinations. It is true that certain lexical items clearly mark the form of language being used; *nyam*, for example, meaning 'eat', occurs only in the speech of creole speakers or in the English of those who have been strongly influenced by the creole. It is, as it were, a shibboleth of standard Jamaican English. Unfortunately for the linguist, very few items are so easily and accurately placed. With most words only a context can show clearly the part of the spectrum they belong to. (Todd 1974:63-65)

Given the mixing of AM and BI that occurs in Central Maluku, it is very helpful to see 'proper' BI and 'pure' AM as *two ends of a spectrum*. Bickerton (1973, 1975) and others have used the terms *acrolect* and *basolect* to label the ends of such a spectrum with the in-between variations called *mesolects*. In the above example Jamaican Creole could be referred to as the basolect, and educated standard Jamaican English as the acrolect. The BI-AM acrolect-basolect continuum is illustrated in Figure 6:

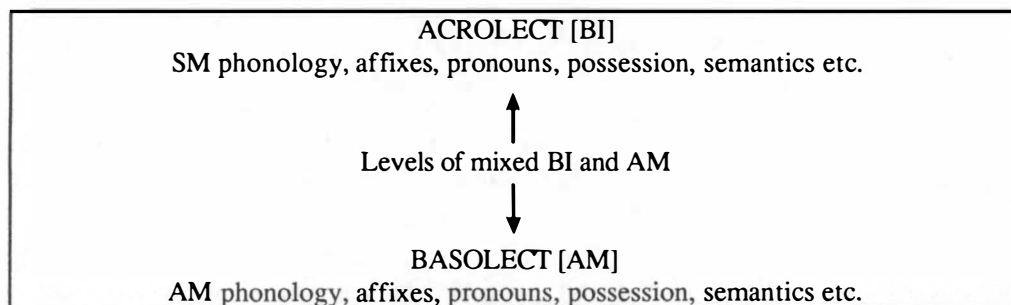


FIGURE 6: BI AND AM AS AN ACROLECT-BASOLECT CONTINUUM

6. CONCLUSION: AMBONESE MALAY AS A NATIVISED PIDGIN/CREOLE

Because an acrolect-basolect continuum is characteristic of creoles in their later stages of development, I now address the issue of creolisation in the development of AM. On the basis of the historical, linguistic and sociolinguistic evidence presented in this paper I argue that AM is best characterised as a nativised pidgin or creole. I do so, not because I think AM needs to be given a label of some linguistic typology, but because doing so clarifies both the historical development of AM and its relationship to other varieties of Malay.

Definitions of *pidgin* and *creole* have proliferated in recent times. In the past some definitions of creole or pidgin had purely linguistic criteria, such as the simplification of grammar and tendencies toward universal structure. Definitions at the other end of the spectrum allowed only a specific type of contact situation – such as slave trade – to be diagnostic in defining a pidgin or creole. The approach I am taking to creolisation is along the lines of Thomason and Kaufman (1988:174), who see pidgins as contact languages which develop as the result of mutual linguistic accommodation in a variety of contact situations. Because the goal of the contact situation is communication between speakers of different languages, pidgins do not necessarily have target languages, and do not always continue to be used beyond the initial contact situation. Mühlhäusler (1986:5) gives a concise definition of a pidgin:

Pidgins are examples of partially targeted or non-targeted second-language learning, developing from simpler to more complex systems as communicative requirements become more demanding. Pidgin languages by definition have no native speakers, they are social rather than individual solutions, and hence are characterized by norms of acceptability.

Mühlhäusler has followed here the traditional view in which pidgins are considered to not have native speakers and to be used only as second languages. Creoles are then pidgins which have “become the first language of a new generation of native speakers” (Mühlhäusler 1986:6).

When discussing the process of creolisation it is necessary to distinguish between the length of time involved in the development of the creole. Some contact languages have developed into creoles relatively rapidly by becoming the primary language of a community and gaining first language speakers within one generation. Thomason and Kaufman (1988) use the term *abrupt creole* (called "early-creolised creole" by others) to describe such creoles which develop rapidly. Typically this occurs in situations where members from various linguistic communities are uprooted from their native habitat and, for basic survival, are forced to develop a contact language which becomes their primary language almost immediately and the first language of any of their children born subsequent to the uprooting. Some of the creoles which developed from the slave trade of the West Indies are classic cases of abrupt creoles. On the other hand, in some situations a contact language continues to be used as a pidgin (second language) for a long period of time and only after several generations do native speakers arise. Long established pidgins which only gradually become creoles by gaining native speakers are well labelled *nativised pidgins* by Thomason and Kaufman (1988:108).

The linguistic evidence shows that AM truly is a 'mixed language' with its lexicon and the bulk of its grammatical structure coming from different sources. This linguistic phenomena is characteristic of creoles, but the same phenomena can also come about through other outcomes of language contact. The question then is: "Is AM really a creole?" I argue that yes, AM is a creole, a nativised pidgin. My argument is based primarily on the social history of AM speakers, although the linguistic evidence is relevant and supports my conclusion.

It is important to review here some of the important historical points. During the 15th century, as the world demand for Moluccan spices escalated, Ternate and Banda were incorporated into the Malayo-Moslem trading world. Islam was adopted in Ternate around 1460 and in Banda around 1480. The Malay language gave these crucial trading ports contact with the rest of the Moslem trading world throughout Southeast Asia. The language also had a great degree of 'local usefulness' in the multi-ethnic, multilingual setting of 15th century Maluku. When the Portuguese arrived at the beginning of the 16th century they found Malay used as a lingua franca by both Moslem and non-Moslem speakers from among the many non-intelligible languages in the region. There are numerous reports by the Portuguese that the Malay spoken in Maluku was the same as that of Malacca and, because of this, Portuguese priests learned Malay in Malacca before travelling on to their work in Maluku. It is important to note that in the 15th and 16th centuries there was a strong connection between Maluku and Malacca through both Moslem traders and the Portuguese. Malay was learned as a second language with varying degrees of proficiency by different segments of Central Moluccan societies.

At the beginning of the 17th century the Dutch arrived and soon became embroiled in intense wars to rid the area of all outside traders in order to establish a monopoly on the spice trade. They were also interested in education and, out of necessity, Malay became the contact medium between the Dutch and the Ambonese, who spoke a variety of Central Moluccan languages. Malay was not the mother tongue of either the Dutch or the Ambonese and there would have been little, if any, contact with native Malay speakers in Ambon. Not surprisingly, after 50 or more years in that situation, the Malay spoken in Ambon was recognised as being very different from the Malay spoken in the west. The decree of 1689 which led the Company to introduce "High Malay" into Ambon, can be interpreted as an official recognition of the divergence between AM and SM. The numerous reports of non-intelligibility between AM and SM at the time lead to the conclusion that the Malay spoken in Maluku during the 16th century, when the Portuguese were present in the area, was recognisably second language acquisition of SM. In the 17th century, however, under the settling of the Dutch,

there was much less contact in Maluku with native speakers of Malay and, as it was used almost exclusively for intergroup communication between non-native non-Malay speakers, it became pidginised and non-intelligible with SM.

The 1689 attempt to introduce High Malay into Ambon was only the first of many, but because AM had 'crystallised' or had its own norms of acceptability by that point, and was so divergent from SM, the AM pidgin and SM remained distinct. Over 150 years later in the 19th century certain villages in Central Maluku began to shift from speaking their native languages and the AM pidgin to speaking only AM. For over 200 years AM was thus spoken as a pidgin, distinct from SM. In the 19th century language shift occurred and AM became nativised or, in other words, a creole. AM can thus be characterised as a creole which developed from a long established pidgin, having a Malay-based lexicon with many Central Moluccan grammatical features, as well as numerous lexical borrowings from Portuguese, Dutch and the local languages with which it has come in contact.

Because a study on the creole status of AM has been done previous to this one, it is necessary to explain how in that analysis the conclusion was reached that AM is not a creole, while in my analysis I claim that it is. The approach Collins (1980a) took in his thesis was to compare the syntactic similarities common to known 'genuine' creoles with AM. He noted that "only four specific criteria for creoles in general have been established" (p.35). These were 1) preverbal particles or tactical devices to express aspect and tense, 2) switching of word class, 3) reduplication, 4) lack of copula. After looking at AM in the light of these four features he concluded, "Based on this comparison AM reflects the syntactic characteristics of creoles". He also compared AM to a detailed list of further characteristics of European-based creoles and concluded "characteristics common to these creoles correspond remarkably well to AM features".

Although Collins felt AM met the linguistic criterion of 'established' creoles, this, however, was not his final conclusion. He went on to use the identical linguistic criteria to examine Trengganu Malay, a dialect of Malay on the Malaysian peninsula, the dialect least influenced by foreign elements of all the Malay dialects. When he found that Trengganu Malay also met the criteria of 1) being significantly different from SM, 2) having syntactic properties common to all creoles, and even 3) having some characteristics of European-based creoles, he realised that in using these linguistic criterion one could conclude that Trengganu Malay was also a creole. Because, however, there is no evidence socially or historically to consider Trengganu Malay a creole, he concluded that the state of creole linguistics was, at that time, deficient. His final comments (Collins 1980a:58,59):

The kind of linguistic inter-relatedness and inter-receptivity of Austronesian languages (and perhaps others) defies the simplistic categorization which current creole theory would impose upon them. If we try to use the sociocultural and linguistic criteria of creole theory outside the narrow range of certain contact situations, we flounder. The term creole has no predictive strength. It is a convenient label for linguistic phenomena of a certain time and place but it does not encompass the linguistic processes which are taking place in eastern Indonesia.

Neither AM nor TM [Trengganu Malay] are creoles. Rather they are linguistic reflections of processes far too complex for theories and labels which have been developed within a narrow framework.

Because Trengganu Malay met the linguistic criteria of a creole but could in no way historically or socially be considered a creole, Collins rejected the state of creole theory at that time for being too 'narrow' and concluded that AM was not a creole. He was correct in concluding Trengganu Malay

cannot possibly be a creole: its social history provides no evidence. He was also correct to reject the state of creole linguistics at the time as being too narrow. Today linguistic 'universal features' of creoles are rarely accepted as total evidence of creolisation. In my analysis I have taken creolisation not as something evidenced by universal linguistic features, but as a social and historical phenomena having linguistic consequences. The historical evidence that a unique pidgin AM was spoken in Central Maluku for over 200 years and then eventually creolised in the 19th century is my basis for claiming AM is creole.

7. LANGUAGE CONTACT AND THE STUDY OF 'REGIONAL MALAYS'

There are numerous possible linguistic outcomes in language contact situations, and creolisation of course is only one of several possibilities. Thomason and Kaufman (1988:37) present a comprehensive framework for the linguistic results of contact situations. They describe two basic mechanisms for contact-induced language change. The first involves borrowing, which can range from minimal borrowing of a few lexical items to intensive structural borrowing of major grammatical features. When this occurs language maintenance results, albeit in a possibly very changed language. The second mechanism in contact-induced language change involves language shift. Shifting speakers may bring no interference from the language they leave into the target language, or they may bring considerable 'baggage' in the form of interference from their original language into the target language. Both types of interference in a language, borrowing or shift, may affect the entire language, or they may be localised to a given region or speech community. Pidgins and abrupt creoles do not involve 'normal' transmission in the sense that there may be no target language and, if there is, it is not built on as a set of interrelated lexical, phonological, morphosyntactic and semantic structures from a single source (p.146).

Given this type of framework, there are several possibilities in which one can have a language whose lexicon and grammatical structures come from different sources. Extreme structural borrowing of a language that maintains its original lexicon is one possible case. An example of this would be the language of Laha on Ambon, where a small group of speakers surrounded by AM have adopted many AM structural features into their language, yet have maintained a Laha-based lexicon (cf. Collins 1980b). Thomason and Kaufman (1988:75) point out that when this type of persistent language maintenance occurs, it is in the face of relatively strong cultural pressure, which is an adequate description of the relationship between speakers of AM and Laha. The second situation in which the lexicon and grammar of a language can come from two different sources occurs in language shift with extreme cases of interference from the original language. Thomason and Kaufman point out that this occurs frequently in cases where the target language is relatively unavailable to the shifting speakers who, with imperfect learning of the target language, maintain the grammatical structures of their original language. The third possible development of 'mixed' language is through creolisation.

Given these three possible processes, I return to AM. Obviously, the first case, involving structural borrowing with a maintained lexicon did not occur with AM for here it is the lexicon that is foreign and the structure that is 'local'. This leaves two possibilities: either AM developed through normal language shift with the shifting speakers carrying with them considerable Central Moluccan structural baggage, so to speak, or AM is a creole which developed from a long standing pidgin. If we restrict ourselves to examining only the linguistic evidence, either option would be plausible. If, however, we take into account the historical data, the latter is by far the most plausible option.

Thomason and Kauffman (1988:192) point out that language shift and borrowing typically involve only two languages. Pidgins, on the other hand, tend to arise when there is multilingualism. The multilingual situation on Ambon in the past centuries cannot be overlooked. There was no village at Amboina before the Portuguese built their fort there in 1576 and the people who settled around it came from all over Ambon and surrounding islands, both of their own free will and later forced by the VOC. Thus, from its very inception Amboina was a multi-ethnic, multilingual town consisting of Central Moluccans from various ethnic groups, the Portuguese, and later the Dutch. They shared a common language, Malay, but it was no one's first language. When the Dutch arrived in 1605 they cut off or at least decreased the ties with Malacca and Malay traders, and by 1689 the common language spoken in this multilingual setting was officially recognised as divergent and non-intelligible with SM. This divergent Malay continued to be spoken at and around Amboina for around 150 more years as a second language before there started to be speakers for whom it was their first language. In this context, the development of AM as normal language shift plus 'accompanying baggage' does not hold. From the mid 17th century to the mid 19th century *something* was spoken in the multilingual setting of Amboina which was divergent from SM and no one's first language. That I consider to be the pidgin which has become the creole of AM today.

There are several implications from this work for the study of other regional varieties of Malay. While AM was officially recognised as a distinct variety of Malay as early as 1689, various other varieties have also been recognised. In 1876 de Clercq listed as regional 'dialects' of Malay: Ambon, Manado, Ternate, Banda and Kupang. This is by no means an exhaustive list and in recent years the number of Malay varieties recognised and studied has increased dramatically (cf. other articles in this volume). Given the various types of language contact that have occurred with Malay in numerous regions it is very difficult to describe the nature of the inter-relationship of these Malay varieties to each other and to SM. Particularly within the context of Indonesia, these varieties are often referred to as 'substandard' varieties of Indonesian (SM). While such a label does reflect a value judgement, it certainly does not clarify the relationships of these varieties to SM or each other. The term 'creole' has also been applied to numerous of these varieties, and even to SM itself. While I believe AM is a nativised pidgin, and thus a creole I do not see that this is true of every regional variety of Malay. Each variety of Malay has to be considered in the light of the historical and social situation in which it has been and is currently used.

Many regional varieties of Malay may have a Malay lexicon with varying degrees of influence in the grammar and phonology from local languages and there are various ways the language could have arrived at that state. To take one example which has not developed through creolisation, Wolff (1988:87) describes the "Indonesian dialect of the Peranakan Chinese of East Java" as "Javanese which has been subject to a process of relexification". Another way of saying the same thing is to say that the Chinese of East Java have shifted from Javanese to Malay/Indonesian (SM) with significant structural interference or carry-over from Javanese into the Malay they speak, forming a distinct variety of Malay spoken by a socially bound group of speakers.

From only a cursory look we can see that regional Malays can develop in different ways and that 'variety' must be considered in the light of the social history of its own speakers. Ambonese Malay has developed through the process of creolisation after 200 plus years as a pidgin. The Chinese of East Java speak a variety of Malay that has heavy structural interference from Javanese which occurred in the normal process of language shift, without any pidginisation or creolisation. Makassarese Malay as described by Steinhauer (1988) is only spoken as a second language. In South Sulawesi there has been language maintenance of the local languages, although as speakers of

these languages learn Malay as a second language there is considerable interference from their local languages, making Makassarese Malay also a distinct variety of Malay.

Because of the complexity of language contact it is not possible to talk about Malay without referring to specific speakers, where they lived and when they lived. Only in looking at the social history of the speakers of the numerous regional varieties of Malay can we correctly interpret the relationship of the languages they speak to SM and to each other. A perpetual comparison of word lists will tell us little about their unique history and development.

APPENDIX

ARGENSOLA'S ACCOUNT OF THE FIRST PORTUGUESE ENCOUNTER IN CENTRAL MALUKU

The Barbarians thus surpris'd, reflecting on their Mismanagement, and perceiving they were lost Men, gave over the thoughts of robbing, and had recourse to Intreaties, throwing down their Bows and Arrows, and begging they would not leave them in that Island, but rather take pity, and pardon what they had done, and promising, if he would carry them off, to conduct him to another place, where Strangers were well receiv'd, and there was Trade. Serrano granted their Request, and admitted them, and having repair'd the shatter'd Junck, and Embarking together, they directed their Course to the Island of Amboyna, where they were well receiv'd by the People of Rucutelo, who were ancient Enemies to those of Veranula, a Neighboring City of Batochina, with whom those of Rucutelo coming to a Battle, they obtain'd the Victory, through the Assistance of the New-comers. The Fame of their Success flew over to the Molucco Islands, at the Time when Boleylfe Reign'd in Ternate, and Almanzor in Tydore, who were bothe not long before Idolaters, and then Mahometans. These two were at Variance about the Limits of their Dominions, and understanding that the Portuguesc were at Amboyna, each of them desiring to Strengthen himself against his Enemy, sent Embassadors, and Ships, to invite, and bring over to them those Foreign Soldiers; thinking it also convenient upon other accounts, to enter into Alliance with those People, whose great Actions were then so fresh in the Mouths of all Men. Boleylfe was quicker than Almanzor, and sent them Ships for Serrano, with a Thousand well Arm'd Soldiers for their Defence, the whole under the Command of his Kinsman Cachil Coliba. The Tydore Embassadors return'd from Rucutelo disappointed. It is but a short Cut between Amboyna and Ternate, and therefore Boleylfe's Ships soon return'd with the Portugueses. That King went out attended by his Subjects, to receive the new Guests; all of them concluding, That they went to see the fulfilling of their so long expected Prophecy. Serrano Landed in bright white Armour, and his Companions in the same manner. When the King saw them, he embrac'd every Man, with a Countenance full of Pleasure and Admiration, shedding Tears, and lifting up his Hands to Heaven, bless'd God, and gave hearty Thanks, for that he had granted him to see that which had been Predicted so many Years before. 'These', said he, 'my Friends, are the Warriors you have so long wish'd for, on account of my Prophecy. Honour them, and let us all vie in Entertaining them; since the Grandeur of our Country depends on their Arms.' The Portugueses, well pleas'd to be thought worthy of a Prophecy, the Belief whereof was a Politick Invention, conducting to their Reputation, made no less Courteous Returns, expressing their singular Affection. They setteled Amity, and Trade in the Moluccos; whence they spread it to the adjacent, and remoter Islands.

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CONSTITUENT ORDER IN *di* CLAUSES IN MALAY NARRATIVES

STEPHEN H. LEVINSOHN

1. INTRODUCTION

This paper argues that Malay¹ clauses characterised by the verbal prefix *di* (hereafter, *di* clauses) are a single construction, with P as “pivot”² (Foley & Van Valin 1984:153) or “trigger” (Wouk 1986:140), whether they are most naturally translated into English by an active or a passive (section 2). When P precedes the verb and the referent of A is a given major participant in the story, this indicates that P is a temporary local topic, whose domain typically does not extend beyond the sentence concerned. Under such circumstances, “action continuity” (Givón, ed. 1983:8) and “continuity of situation” (Levinsohn 1987:66) are not affected. In other words, the topicalisation of P neither interrupts the natural sequential order of the events being reported nor changes the overall spatiotemporal situation and cast of principal characters involved in those events (section 3). *di* clauses that imply such continuity and meet a further condition established in section 3 indeed “narrate sequenced events which pertain to the main line of discourse” (Hopper 1983:84). However, Hopper’s claim that *meN* clauses present background information can only be maintained for those independent *meN* clauses that are inherently transitive (section 4). (*meN* clauses are “active” clauses (Azhar Simin 1983:106) with A as pivot, in which the verb is prefixed with *meN*, the nasal being homorganic to, replacing, or being replaced by, the stem-initial consonant.³)

2. *di* CLAUSES ARE A SINGLE CONSTRUCTION

di clauses in Malay have traditionally been considered to be “passive” or *bangun kena buat* which, according to Azhar Simin (1983:47), “roughly means *to rise and be affected by an act*”. In particular, those *di* clauses in which P precedes the verb are instances of “object/patient topicalisation” (p.47), (hereafter ‘P-topicalisation’) and are naturally translated by the English passive. For example:

¹I use ‘Malay’ as a cover term for standard, written Malaysian represented by Baharin Ramly’s short story *Seorang Perempuan, Sungai dan Senjakala* ‘A woman, a river and dusk’ (Abdul Samad Said et al., eds 1980), for the less formal Malaysian represented by a fable about a hunter, a tiger and a monkey (examples (4), (8)), and for the Malay texts considered by Hopper (1979, 1982, 1983). Although there are considerable differences between these dialects, I consider the claims made in the paper to be applicable to all three.

²I follow the standard typological practice of using ‘A’ for Agent and ‘P’ for Patient to refer to the participants in a clause with two nuclear arguments. This avoids having to label P as the subject of a passive clause or the object of an active clause.

³Other verb prefixes include *ber-* “middle/generic” (Hopper 1982:6) and *ter-* “unintentional” (Wouk 1980:86).

- (1) (15.40)¹ "Makkkk!"
"Mummy!"

- (16.41) *Panggilan itu di-iringi hentakan kaki.*
call the DI-follow.on stamp foot
THE CALL was followed by the stamp of feet.

However, *di* clauses in which P does not precede the verb do not behave like English passive constructions (Asmah Haji Omar et al. 1978:46). For example:

- (2) (106.285) *Di-capai-nya dayung, lalu di-angkat-nya*
DI-snatch-3SG oar pass DI-lift-3SG
tinggi-tinggi, sebelum di-hempaskan-nya
high-high before DI-throw.down-3SG
dengan kuat-kuat ke permukaan air.
with strong-strong to surface water

Azhar Simin translates this "She reached for the paddle, then she lifted it up high, before she flung it with all her might to the surface of the water." (1983:316f.). (The passive equivalent – 'The oar was snatched up by her, then it was lifted up high by her...' – is unsatisfactory even when the references to A are omitted.)

Hopper regards such verb-initial-*di* clauses as "narrative ergatives" (1979:231f.) and argues (1983:71) that the passive and ergative constructions should be distinguished:

Fundamentally the passive is distinguished from the ergative in two ways: 1. The patient NP precedes the verb...2. The discourse role of the passive is a BACKGROUNDING one.

Hopper further shows that, when the two constructions are compared using the parameters listed in Hopper and Thompson (1980) to measure the degree of discourse transitivity of clauses, passives are significantly less transitive than ergatives. In particular, passive constructions in Malay tend not to predicate any action or motion (*kinesis*), be punctual or be endpoint-oriented. Quite often, in addition, no agent is specified (Hopper & Thompson 1980:78). For the purposes of this paper, I therefore treat the degree of discourse transitivity as a third potential feature to distinguish passive constructions from ergatives.

I now consider these three features in turn, and show that in fact none of them is sufficient to warrant separating passive *di* clauses from ergative ones.

Hopper himself disposes of the first distinguishing feature when he admits that P does precede the verb in some constructions he identifies as "ergative". He accepts that such clauses are "formally indistinguishable from a passive", but notes that "the patient is highly topical and anaphoric" (Hopper 1983:73). Example (3) below, which Azhar Simin (1983:321) considers to be an event clause (foreground), and which he translates into English with an active construction, illustrates what Hopper has in mind:

¹References are to Azhar Simin's numbering of the paragraphs (e.g. 15) and sentences (e.g. 40) of Baharin Ramly's short story. If a third number occurs (e.g. in 111.308.1), this refers to a clause. Free translations into English may be Azhar Simin's or my own. References to P are given in upper case in the free translations.

- (3) (111.308) ...she poured the kerosene on to the floor of the boat, from the stern to the bow, till the bottle was empty.
- (309) *Botol itu lalu di-himbau-nya ke tengah sungai.*
 bottle the pass *DI*-throw-3SG to middle river
 THE BOTTLE she then tossed to the middle of the river.
- (310) She drew out a match from the fold of cloth around her waist...

Hopper is therefore replacing his first distinguishing feature by one which states that, whereas P always precedes the verb in passive constructions, in ergative constructions in which P precedes the verb the patient must be highly topical and anaphoric. However, this condition is still not sufficient to distinguish passive *di* clauses from ergative ones, as (4) demonstrates. This example meets Hopper's conditions for ergative constructions in which P precedes the verb, since the hunter (P) is highly topical and anaphoric, having featured in the immediately preceding clause. Furthermore, A is a given third person participant referred to by the verb suffix *nya*, and the clause is most naturally translated by an English active. However, the presence of the auxiliary *hendak* 'want' indicates that in reality it is background information:

- (4) a. Suddenly the tiger came pouncing on the hunter.
- b. *Pemburu itu hendak di-bunuh-nya.*
 hunter the want *DI*-kill-3SG
 It was wanting to kill THE HUNTER.
- c. "Help; don't kill me!" said the hunter.

Actually, P does not have to be identical with any element of the last clause to precede the verb in Hopper's "ergative" constructions. Azhar Simin interprets both (5) and (6) as event clauses. Yet in (5) the relationship with an element of the last sentence is 'part-whole', while in (6) it is a possessed-possessor relationship:

- (5) (110.307) ...she hurriedly went to the stern to get the bottle of kerosene.
- (308.1) *Tudung botol di-rentap keluar,*
 cover bottle *DI*-pull out
 She jerked the BOTTLE CAP off,
- (308.2) then...she poured (*di-jirus-nya*) THE KEROSENE on to the floor, from the stern to the bow, till the bottle was empty.
- (6) (108.298) The boat did not move.
- (299) *Nafas-nya di-hela panjang.*
 breath-3SG *DI*-pull long
 She took a deep BREATH.

In fact, as befits topicalised elements, preverbal Ps in *di* clauses are always anaphoric, whether their referent is a nominal element (3) or a verbal element (1), whether they are in a part-whole relationship (5), in a possessed-possessor relationship (6) or even contrast with a corresponding element of the previous sentence ("contrastive coherence" – Werth 1984:87).

Hopper can therefore not distinguish "ergative" from "passive" *di* constructions on the basis either of the position of P vis-à-vis the verb or of the topical and anaphoric status of P. Neither can he

separate them on the basis of his second feature, that “passive” constructions are backgrounded whereas “ergative” constructions are foregrounded.

Sentence b of (4) illustrates Hopper's “ergative” construction being used to present background information. Example (7) shows that his “passive” can be used to present foreground information. In this example, P is again the central character of the story (the same woman who featured in examples (2), (3), (5) and (6)). This time, however, she is the ‘patient’, so Hopper's “passive” is the appropriate construction to use:

- (7) (67.201.1) She came to a stop,
 (201.2) *dan dengan mudah saja dia di-tangkap oleh*
 and with ease just 3SG DI-catch by
mereka yang ghairahkan puji-pujian.
 3PL who hope.for praises
 and SHE was easily apprehended by those who look for praise.
 (202) Wan, who had been working there for some time, approached her,
 condemning her...
 (206.1) *Dia kemudian-nya di-bawa ke muka pengadilan,*
 3SG then-3SG DI-bring to face justice
 SHE was then brought before the authorities,
 (206.2) *di-bicarakan tanpa pembelaan dari sesiapa.*
 DI-bring.to.court without legal.help from anyone
 being brought to court without legal help from anyone.
 (207) *Dia di-hukum.*
 3SG DI-judge
 SHE was convicted.

Hopper's “ergative” and “passive” *di* constructions can therefore not be distinguished on the basis of grounding.

As to the third distinguishing feature identified earlier, there is no doubt that *di* clauses with preverbal P will *on average* be significantly less transitive than those with postverbal P. This is because, to make a background comment about P as topic in the body of a narrative, Malay does topicalise the reference to P; cf. sentence d of the following passage taken from the same text as example (4):

- (8) a. Suddenly, a monkey came towards the hunter.
 b. The monkey was giving its baby a drink.
 c. The drink (was) in a bottle.
 d. *Botol berisi susu itu telah di-curi oleh kera*
 bottle containing milk the PAST DI-steal by monkey
dari sebuah rumah.
 from a house
 THE BOTTLE CONTAINING MILK had been stolen by the monkey from a house.
 e. “Hey, monkey, give me that milk...” said the hunter.

In contrast, as Cumming has observed (1986:103), the use of a *di* clause with postverbal P in narrative reflects continuity of action and situation (as defined in the introduction to this paper). However, individual P-topicalised clauses can be very high in transitivity (cf. (7) above). Conversely, individual *di* clauses with postverbal P can be quite low in transitivity:

- (9) (49.130-1) There are two ways to face trouble which is brought on (you) by someone else; first, a gentle way; second, a hard way.
- (132.1) If the first way is not successful,
- (132.2) *harus-lah di-gunakan cara kedua.*
proper-EMP *DI*-use way second
it is proper to use the SECOND WAY.

I therefore conclude that Hopper can find no grounds for distinguishing “ergative” and “passive” *di* constructions. Rather, all *di* clauses are examples of the same construction. In Foley and Van Valin's terms (1984:153), P is the pivot in all *di* clauses (cf. Thomas 1980:65). Topicalised Ps are then both (clause-internal) pivots, and topics in an anaphoric relationship to their context.

3. P-TOPICALISATION IN *di* CLAUSES

I now show that, in P-topicalised clauses, the domain over which P may continue as topic is affected by the information contained in the rest of the sentence, in particular the status of A. If A is a ‘given’ participant, that is one who has appeared in the recent context (for example a third person participant referred to by the verbal suffix *nya*), the effect of placing P before the verb is to mark it as a temporary “local” topic (Grimes 1975:103), which will not play a part in the ongoing story. Such a restriction does not apply to *di* clauses in which P follows the verb (discussed below). Nor does it apply to P-topicalised *di* clauses which are agentless (Bambang Kaswanti Purwo 1988) or in which A is new to the scene (that is, in which A is not a given participant). In such clauses, the topicalisation of P may well establish it as the topic for several sentences.

Continuity of action and situation (cf. Introduction) is typically maintained in connection with *di* clauses in which P follows the verb (Cumming 1986:103). I show that, in addition, it is typically maintained also in connection with P-topicalised *di* clauses in which P is a temporary ‘local’ topic, the only reservation being that the P-topicalised element does not feature in the ongoing story.¹

The claims made in this section concerning the position of P, the discourse status of A, and the implications for continuity of action and situation, are summarised in the following table:

P	A	Implications for continuity
preverb	none/new to scene	P = topic: domain not indicated
preverb	‘given’ participant	P = topic: domain very limited
		continuity maintained
postverb	(not significant)	continuity maintained

To facilitate the comparison between *di* clauses with P preceding and following the verb, I restrict my discussion to the 42 clauses in Baharin Ramly's story which meet the following conditions:

¹In *di* clauses which present explanations in a narrative, it is not necessary to require that a preverbal P not feature in the ongoing story. Rather, such a P is a temporary local topic because it is the topic only of the explanation; cf. example (8), for instance, in which “the bottle containing milk” is the topic only of the explanation (sentence d), even though it features in the ongoing narrative (e.g. sentence e).

1. the event narrated in the *di* clause meets Givón's (1983:8) "action continuity" condition: it is "in natural sequential order" with the last event presented and "there is small if any temporal gap" between the events described;

2. A (whether expressed by *nya* or only implied) is the central character of the story (the woman or a given participant).

In 13 of these 42 clauses, P precedes the verb. In the other 29 cases, P either follows the verb or is implicit, having been stated in the immediately previous clause (cf., for example, the second and third clauses of (2)).

On the 13 occasions in which P precedes the verb and may be considered to be the topic of the clause, the domain of the topic does not extend beyond the sentence concerned.¹ In 12 of the 13 examples, P is not mentioned again for at least 20 clauses (the arbitrary figure adopted by Givón (1983:13) before he discontinued scanning for a referent). More significantly, in no case is it even implied that P is involved in the ongoing story. This is illustrated in (10) – 111.308.1 and 309 contain preverbal Ps which have no further part to play in the story.

(10) (110.307) ...she hurriedly went to the stern to get the bottle of kerosene.

(111.308.1) *Tudung botol di-rentap keluar,*
cover bottle DI-pull out
She jerked the BOTTLE CAP off,

(308.2) *kemudian...di-jirus-nya minyak tanah itu ke atas lantai*
then DI-pour-3SG oil earth the to top floor
then...she poured THE KEROSENE on to the floor (of the boat)

(308.3) from the stern to the bow, till the bottle was empty.

(309) *Botol itu lalu di-himbau-nya ke tengah sungai.*
bottle the pass DI-throw-3SG to middle river
THE BOTTLE she then tossed to the middle of the river.

(310) *Di-keluarkan-nya mancis dari belitan kain*
DI-bring.out-3SG match from fold cloth
di pinggan-nya, lalu di-nyalakan.
at waist-3SG pass DI-light
She drew out a MATCH from the fold of cloth around her waist, then lit (IT).

(311) *Di-campak-nya ke lantai perahu.*
DI-throw-3SG to floor boat
She threw (IT) to the floor of the boat.

(312) Fire leapt up.

¹The maximum observed domain of a temporary local topic is a 'sentence complex'. A sentence complex consists of a pair of sentences which are closely associated together, such as a stimulus-response pair in which the second sentence, associated with the first by *pun* 'also', is the natural response to the first. In the non-literary text, the monkey gives some milk (preverbal P) to the hunter. In response to this stimulus, the hunter *pun* drinks that milk. The milk plays no part in the ongoing story, in which the hunter decides to kill the monkey. Compare the use of Timugon Murut *poyo* 'also' (Brewis & Levinsohn forthcoming, section 3); cf. also Rafferty (1987:372) on *pun* with "a switch reference function returning an NP to S position".

In both 308.1 and 309 above, the preverbal Ps (bottle cap, bottle), once disposed of, never feature again in the story, which concerns the stages involved in setting fire to the boat. (In contrast, in 308.2 and 310 the postverbal Ps (kerosene, match) are inherently involved in the outworking of the events. Fire is produced by the match igniting the kerosene.)

On one occasion, a further reference to P is found after 8 clauses. Until the object concerned (an oar) is next mentioned, however, it has no part to play in the ongoing drama. A free translation of the rest of the passage follows the sentence concerned:

- (11) (104.279.1) *Dayung di-cebak lagi.*
 oar *DI*-plunge again
 The OAR was plunged in again.
 The boat shot away, and suddenly it rammed into a cluster of *nipah* palm.
 “Damn!” She hurried to the bow of the boat. She angrily kicked the *nipah*
 stalk which was leaning to the side. The boat moved back a little. She
 returned to the stern. She reached for the OAR...

When P follows the verb in *di* clauses, P by definition is not topicalised. Consequently, as befits the unmarked case, I make no claim about the domain of P. It is noteworthy, however, that, in 19 out of the 29 cases in which P follows the verb or is implicit, P features again within 5 clauses, for example in (10) 308.2 (kerosene), 310 and 311 (match).

The position of P, in *di* clauses in which A is a given participant who has appeared in the recent context, is therefore significant.

I return now to *di* clauses in which P precedes the verb. In the examples so far considered in this section, A has been a given participant. It is precisely the fact that A is a given participant that indicates that P as topic has a very local domain. In those clauses excluded from discussion in the first part of this section because A was a participant who was new to the scene or because the clause was agentless, P may be the topic over several sentences. In (7), for instance, P was the central character of the story, who continued in a non-active role for three paragraphs of the written text. The A referent in sentence 201.2 had not featured previously in the story.

I therefore conclude that, whereas any P preceding the verb in a *di* clause is the topic of that clause, subsequent reference in the clause to a given participant as A has the effect of indicating that the domain of that topic is very limited. Typically, in such situations, continuity of action and situation is maintained. Such continuity is also maintained in *di* clauses in which P follows the verb, that is in clauses in which no constituent has been topicalised. This explains why Hopper wishes to classify some P-topicalised *di* clauses with his other “narrative ergative” constructions.

4. *meN* AND *di* CLAUSES

I now show that Hopper's (1979:230-233) identification of *meN* with backgrounding and of *di* with foregrounding is too strong. The identification does not hold for juxtaposed and subordinate clauses (section 3.1). Nor does it hold for *meN* clauses which are inherently intransitive (Payne 1985), that is in which only one core argument may occur (section 3.2). Hopper's identification of *meN* and *di* with backgrounding and foregrounding respectively only holds for independent *meN* clauses that are inherently transitive (with two core arguments), and for independent *di* clauses that meet certain conditions (section 3.3).

4.1 *meN* AND *di* IN JUXTAPOSED AND SUBORDINATE CLAUSES

When a clause containing *meN* or *di* is juxtaposed or subordinated to an immediately preceding clause, the pivot of the second clause is supplied by the previous one, and is not restated in the second clause. The prefix selected for the second clause depends entirely on whether this pivot is A or P in the clause.

Hopper (1983:80) points out that “the distinction ‘main clause – subordinate clause’ is not easy to make in Malay”. For this reason I consider in this section only those clauses which, in Baharin Ramly’s written text, are attached to a previous clause in the same sentence, and in which no nuclear argument precedes the verb. Such clauses may be juxtaposed to the previous clause (typically translated into English by a participial or infinitival clause). Alternatively, they may be introduced by the relative *yang*, or by a conjunction such as *bagai* ‘sort, kind, as if’. I consider conjunctions like *dan* ‘and’, *hingga* ‘till’, *kemudian* ‘then’, *lalu* ‘pass, then’, *malah* ‘but’ and *sedang* ‘middle, while’ to be coordinative, as they permit a core argument to precede the verb.

Example (12) illustrates a *meN* clause in which the pivot, “its bow”, is supplied by the previous clause and is A in the juxtaposed clause.

- (12) (107.291) *Haluan-nya terbanam sedikit, mem-belah tebing.*
 bow-3SG become.immersed a.little *MEN*-split bank
 Its bow became immersed a little, [the bow:A] breaching the bank.

(See sentence 206.2 of (7) for a *di* clause in which the pivot, “she”, is supplied by the previous clause and is P in the juxtaposed clause.)

Examples (13) and (14) illustrate *meN* and *di* clauses introduced by the relative *yang*, in which the pivot is supplied by the previous clause. They are A and P respectively in the subordinated clause.

- (13) (76.223) *Di-lemparkan-nya pandangan-nya jauh-jauh...*
DI-throw-3SG observation-3SG far-far
ke asap yang meng-epul naik...
 to smoke which *MEN*-thick up
 She concentrated her gaze far away...on the smoke which was billowing up...
- (14) (49.130.3) *Ada dua cara meng-hadapi kesulitan yang*
 exist two way *MEN*-face trouble which
di-timpakan oleh orang lain.
DI-bring-down by person other
 There are two ways to face trouble which is brought on (you) by someone else.

4.2 *meN* IN INHERENTLY INTRANSITIVE CLAUSES

In modern standard Malaysian the foreground-background distinction is neutralised for intransitive clauses, because a choice between *di* and *meN* is not available to the author.¹ For this reason, it is

¹On one occasion Baharin Ramly uses *di* in a clause which appears to be intransitive:

not uncommon for inherently intransitive *meN* clauses to be used to narrate main-line events in natural sequential order. For example, the end of Baharin Ramly's story (example (15) below) describes the woman setting fire to the boat. The inherently transitive clauses in which she is A employ *di* (sentences 308-11). The following clauses, which are inherently intransitive, employ *meN* (sentences 312ff.), and no further independent *di* clause occurs in the story! I do not consider it reasonable to claim that the main events of the story terminate with sentence 311 and that the rest of the episode presents backgrounded information!¹

For brevity, I provide a free translation of the passage, with only the independent verbs in Malay.

- (15) (111.308) The cap she pulled (*di-rentap*) out, then with hands that were trembling she poured (*di-jirus-nya*) the kerosene onto the floor of the boat, from the stern to the bow, till the bottle was empty.
- (309) The bottle she then tossed (*di-himbau-nya*) to the middle of the river.
- (310) She drew out (*di-keluarkan-nya*) a match from the fold of cloth around her waist, then lit (*di-nyalakan*) it.
- (311) She threw (*di-campak-nya*) it to the floor of the boat.
- (312) Fire leapt up (*meny-ambar*).
- (313) With a shaking body she leapt (*me-lompat*) to the bank.
- (112.314-5) The fire spread (*mem-besar*), leaping up...
- (317) Smoke was billowing (*meng-epul-meng-epul*) like the smoke that came out from the (factory) chimney...

(Azhar Simin (1983:262f.) calls sentence 317 the "coda" of the story as it describes the final irony of the smoke from the burning fishing boat looking like the smoke from the factory which had destroyed the fish by its pollution.)

4.3 *meN* AND *di* IN INDEPENDENT, INHERENTLY TRANSITIVE CLAUSES

When a clause is both independent and inherently transitive, the author may choose between *di* and *meN*. In such circumstances, Hopper's (1979:230-233) identification of *di* with foregrounding and *meN* with backgrounding is valid, provided the *di* clauses fulfil two conditions:

1. the position of P and the discourse status of A imply continuity of action and situation (cf. the table at the beginning of section 2);

Imah tersentak. Di-toleh-nya ke dalam gubuk.

(name) jerked-involuntarily DI-look.back-3SG to inside shack

Imah jerked involuntarily. She turned (her head) to (look) into the shack. (16.42-43)

I have no explanation for this example, which would be ungrammatical in Indonesian.

¹ Azhar Simin employs Grimes's (1975) system of classifying information into "events" and various types of "non-events". He classifies sentences 111.308-311, 313 as events, but sentences 312, 314, 315, 317 as background, which he claims is "information that elaborate and explain what is happening in the narrative" (Azhar Simin 1983:90). This distinction appears to be made on the grounds that the actor in the first group of sentences is animate, whereas the subject of the second group is inanimate (fire, smoke). However, the narrative largely concerns the interaction of a single animate participant with inanimate elements, and Grimes (1975:43) makes it clear that participants may be inanimate. I therefore do not follow Azhar Simin's treatment of the above sentences as background.

2. the *di* clause itself meets Givón's action continuity condition that the event it narrates be in natural sequential order with the last event presented. (This condition is required to exclude cases like sentence b of (4).)

In the basically narrative section of Baharin Ramly's story analysed by Azhar Simin, only six inherently transitive independent *meN* clauses are found, over against twenty-two independent *di* clauses. Furthermore, four of the six *meN* clauses occur as the first clauses of paragraphs in the written text and are readily interpreted as presenting the "introductory events in an episode" (Hopper 1983:79; cf. Azhar Simin 1983:113). Such events may be viewed as background with respect to the main events of the episode. Sentence 103.272 of (16) below provides an example.

The other two instances of inherently transitive independent *meN* clauses, both of which also occur in (16) (sentences 275, 277), may also be interpreted as background. The main events of the episode concern the woman rowing the boat, first slowly (preoccupied with the polluted state of the river, sentence 276), then quickly (sentence 278), culminating in the boat becoming snared (sentence 279.3). Sentences 272-75 appear to set the scene for these events, while sentence 277 describes the woman's repeated reaction to her observation in sentence 276:

- (16) (103.272) She paddled (*meng-ayuh*) the boat to the middle of the river.
 (273) The wind blew (*ber-hembus*).
 (274) Swallows flew about (*ber-terbangan*)...
 (275) On the horizon, the sun sent out (*meng-hantarkan*) its rays...
 (104.276) She rowed (*di-dayung-nya*) the boat slowly, while her eyes were absorbed, seeing the undulating, oily, rippling water.
 (277) With a heart that felt as if it were being sliced, she kept hurriedly running (*me-larikan*) her eyes to the bank of the river.
 (278) Quickly now she rowed (*di-dayung-nya*) the boat, while stopping from time to time to wipe off her sweat.
 (279.1) The oar was plunged (*di-cebak*) again.
 (279.2-3) The boat shot away (*me-luncur*), and suddenly it rammed (*ter-dorong*) into a cluster of *nipah* palm.

Unlike inherently transitive *meN* clauses, those *di* clauses that fulfil the conditions stated at the beginning of this section consistently present the foreground events that build on actions described using such prefixes as *meN* (cf. Azhar Simin 1983:127), for example sentences 104.276, 278 and 279.1 in (16).

I therefore conclude that Hopper's identification of *di* with foregrounding and *meN* with backgrounding in narrative is entirely valid, provided the domain in which the rule operates is limited to independent, inherently transitive clauses and, in the case of *di* clauses, to those which imply continuity of action and situation and which themselves meet Givón's action continuity condition.¹

¹A further difference between inherently transitive *di* and *meN* clauses, consistent with the high versus low discourse transitivity distinction which underlies the foreground-background one, is mentioned by Wouk. She points out (1986:140) that "patient trigger morphology" (i.e. the selection of P as pivot) "correlates with individuated patients, and actor trigger morphology...with less individuated patients".

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THE LANGUAGES OF SULAWESI

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If one studies the language situation on the island of Sulawesi and the smaller islands surrounding it, one cannot but be struck by the extraordinary wealth of languages found there, especially if compared with its total population on the one hand, and with the situation in some of the other large islands of the Indonesian archipelago on the other.¹

On the island of Java, with a population rapidly approaching one hundred million, only 4 languages are spoken: Javanese, Madurese, Sundanese and Jakarta Malay (and perhaps a few more if some considerably divergent dialects, such as Cirebon, are classified as separate languages). The much larger but far less populous island of Sumatra and adjacent islands is home to some 11 or, if the 6 Batak dialects are recognised as separate languages, 16 languages (cf. Voorhoeve 1955). In contrast, the number of languages spoken in Sulawesi and environs, with a population of no more than seven million people, is estimated to be around 80.

A few examples will suffice to illustrate this situation. In the province of North Sulawesi there is the narrow peninsula, called Minahasa, with a population of a few hundred thousand people, where 8 languages are spoken: 5 so-called Minahasan languages, 2 Sangiric languages and Manado Malay, which, though a Malay dialect if viewed from outside the region, functions as an independent language within the Minahasa context. In the tiny Sangir-Talaud archipelago 2 more Sangiric languages are found, and the Gorontalo-Mongondow group of languages to the west of Minahasa comprises 8 more languages, from Mongondow in the east to Buol in the west, just across the border with the province of Central Sulawesi, which makes the total number 18.

The situation in South Sulawesi is different in that it has a far denser population of over four million people. It contains not only the largest urban complex of Sulawesi (Ujung Pandang) and the surrounding Makasar region, but also the homeland of the Buginese sailors and the mountains of the picturesque Toraja people. Each of these has its own language, Makasarese, Buginese and Sa'dan Toraja respectively. But it may come as no surprise that a lexicostatistical survey of the entire South Sulawesi province, conducted by Charles and Barbara Grimes of the Summer Institute of Linguistics in 1983 (published 1987), reported 20 different languages of the South Sulawesi group plus 4 of the Muna-Buton group, making 24 altogether. These range from (at one extreme) the large group of some two and a half million people speaking a highly homogeneous Buginese with only a few dialect areas near the borders, to (at the other extreme): the small group of people speaking 2 non-contiguous dialects (Laiolo and Barang-Barang) of a Muna-Buton language on the southern tip of the oblong

¹An earlier version of this paper was presented at the Sixth European Colloquium on Indonesian and Malay Studies, held in Passau, Germany, 22-27 June 1987. I am greatly indebted to Dr Jackrentice for his useful comments on an earlier version of this paper and for his efforts to correct my English.

H. Steinhauer, ed. *Papers in Austronesian linguistics*, No.1, 137-150.
Pacific Linguistics, A-81, 1991.

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island of Salayar; some four and a half thousand Seko people living in the high mountains to the north of the Sa'dan Toraja (separated from the latter by 50km of uninhabited forest) who speak 3 Seko dialects (or languages) with 62-75 per cent mutual cognate relationship (Laskowske and Laskowske 1987:88,96); and the highly complex situation in the mountain region called Pitu Ulunna Salu to the north of the Mandar coast, where some forty thousand people, living in seventeen *desas*, speak some 14 dialects, which can be grouped into 3 languages, each consisting of a number of dialects connected by a chaining relationship. In this case the chaining means that "all relate to the neighbouring dialects at 89-90%, while the extreme points in the chain only relate at 84-85%" (Strømme 1985:11-12).

It should be remarked here that these numbers of South Sulawesi languages are partly dependent on the critical percentage used in determining what is identified as a discrete language and what as one of several dialects of the same language. If 70 per cent of cognacy is used as the 'language limit' (as is done by Dyen (1965:18) in his lexicostatistical classification of the Austronesian languages) instead of 80 per cent, then the 3 discrete languages of the Makasar subgroup become 1 Makasar language with 2 additional dialects (Konjo and Salayar); similarly the 5 languages of the Toraja-Sa'dan subgroup become 1 Sa'dan Toraja language with 4 additional dialects, and the total number of South Sulawesi languages is 14 rather than 20. I follow Grimes and Grimes (1987) in using the 80 per cent border line between language and dialect however, as this percentage has been part of lexicostatistics from the start, even though it is to a large extent an arbitrary decision. This does not mean to say that lexicostatistics should be regarded as the only method for determining this border line, nor that its results should be accepted without reserve. Some critical remarks will be made later on in this essay.

The situation in the province of South-East Sulawesi has its own peculiarities which fit in with the general pattern. On the mainland there are two languages spoken in well-defined areas: Tolaki with some five hundred thousand speakers, and Moronene, also spoken on the island of Kabaena, with some forty-five thousand speakers. On the other islands of the province one usually finds a single language per island or island group: Munanese is spoken by two hundred thousand people on the island of Muna, Wawonii by sixteen and a half thousand on the island of Wawonii, and a language with no generally accepted name by sixty thousand people on the four islands of the Tukang Besi group.

In contrast, the language situation on the island of Buton appears to be extremely complex, and as new data become known they only tend to add to the complexity of the picture. Here it is still possible to discover hitherto unknown languages.

In the early 1930s it was discovered that what had been known as Butonese was, in fact, the language called Wolio, which was spoken only in the Sultan's residence and a few villages surrounding it, but was also used as the official language of communication with the other parts of the Buton sultanate (Cense, ed. 1954:165). Outside the tiny Wolio area quite different languages are in daily use. Most vernaculars spoken in central and southern Buton, apart from Wolio, seem to be dialects of two languages: Central Butonese or Pancana, and South Butonese or Cia-Cia. But beside these there are at least four other languages (sharing 40-50 per cent cognates with each other), two in the north-east and two in the south-west. One of the latter has only recently been discovered (together with another in northern Buton and a third (Kaimbulawa) on the island of Siompu) in a brief survey conducted in only a part of the region (van den Berg 1988:3,15-17). The complexity of the situation is demonstrated by the fact that occasionally four different languages are found to be spoken in the same village. It is clear that only a thorough and complete survey of the whole area can establish the real situation.

Altogether there are at least 15 different languages in the whole of the province of South-East Sulawesi.

The area with the largest number of languages is the province of Central Sulawesi. It is in this region that, in the first quarter of this century, linguistic work was carried out by Adriani, who in his time was one of the greatest linguists in the field of Indonesian linguistics although he is seldom mentioned nowadays. He not only made an extensive study of the language spoken in the area of Lake Poso (then known as "Bare'e", but which its modern speakers prefer to call "Pamona") and posthumously published a voluminous dictionary, grammar and texts (Adriani 1928, 1931, 1932-33), but also surveyed the whole area covering the present-day province of Central Sulawesi and published a meticulous report of the language situation with a detailed language map, which includes the greater part of the entire island of Sulawesi (Adriani 1914¹). If the situation as described by Adriani is compared with those presented by recent surveys, such as that by Barr, Barr and Salombe (1979), it can be seen that essentially there is no difference. For instance, Adriani mentions 9 Tomini languages (1914:348-350), and Barr, Barr and Salombe (1979:23) 8, but the latter add that they had not obtained data from Petapa, which was described by Adriani.² They furthermore list Dondo, which is not mentioned by Adriani, as a separate language, though admitting that it has 80 per cent shared cognates with Toli-Toli and may thus also be considered a dialect of the latter (1979:28-29). They furthermore list Lauje and Tialo, which in Adriani's presentation (Adriani 1914:348-349) are 2 languages called Tinombo and Tomini, as 2 dialects of Tomini sharing 89 per cent cognates (Barr, Barr & Salombe 1979:30). The differences clearly lie more in interpretation of the data than in the actual language situation. It may be concluded that there are 9 or 10 Tomini languages.

Slightly different is the situation of the languages which were called West Toraja in the time of Adriani, Kruyt and Esser, but at present are preferably, though less informatively, called the Kaili group. All 12 languages listed by Adriani as West Toraja still seem to be spoken today. Even Tawaelia, which in Adriani's time had only three hundred speakers (Adriani 1914:108), apparently still exists, as it turns up as Sedoa with six hundred speakers in a recent survey (Barr, Barr & Salombe 1979:34, 96-98). One of the results of Esser's research into the languages of this region in the 1930s was that many of the vernaculars which according to Adriani were separate languages proved to be dialects of one language, which was called Kaili. Esser's conclusions can be found in his language map (1938 sheet 9b), in which only 3 of Adriani's 12 West Toraja languages are mentioned (Kaili, Kulawi and Pipikoro), while more detailed information, on the basis of notes supplied by Esser, is contained in A.C. Kruyt's (1938) four-volume publication about the West Toraja.³ Surveys conducted in the 1970s have confirmed that most of Adriani's languages must be

¹This is Volume III of the collection of volumes which Adriani wrote jointly with A.C. Kruyt on the Bare'e-speaking Toraja of Central Celebes (1911-1914), but I refer to it as 'Adriani 1914' because he, being the linguistic professional of the two, was the sole author of this third volume, whereas Kruyt, the ethnologist, wrote the other two volumes. Later on, Kruyt published a revised and much expanded version of his volumes. This second edition also consists of three volumes, but these were all written by Kruyt and did not include the language volume. Adriani 1914 was never revised or reprinted.

²The language named by Adriani 'Petapa', 'Tadje' or 'Andje' (the last two names being words for 'no') was spoken by a tiny community within the Kaili dialect area, Petapa being a village located due south-west of Pelawa near Parigi on the Tomini coast. Unlike the Kaili-Pamona languages it had consonants occurring in word-final position (*ng, s, t, l, r, g*) and thus was classified by Adriani as belonging to the Tomini subgroup (Adriani 1914:9, 169, 179-180, 349). According to a recent study (Kaseng et al. 1979:66-99) it has in the meantime lost these final consonants (e.g. 1914 *langit, ompong, ujang*, 1979 *langi, ompo, uja* 'heaven', 'belly', 'rain' respectively) and is considered to be possibly a Kaili dialect. This loss of final consonants is a clearly attested example of how a language may adapt to its linguistic environment by borrowing structural features, in other words, how an areal feature is spreading.

³Esser's findings as contained in Kruyt's book and in his own quarterly reports are given in Noorduynd ed. (1963:338-352). They show that Esser, far from listing 12 different West Toraja languages (as alleged in Barr, Barr & Salombe 1979:30), was well aware of the linguistic situation. In his opinion, in the region north of Kulawi there were only dialects

considered dialects or subdialects. That is why Barr, Barr and Salombe (1979:23-24), too, list only 4 languages in the Kaili area, namely Kaili (7 dialects, among them Kulawi), Pipikoro (Uma), Lindu (Tado) and Sedoa (Tawaelia). Even this total is one too many since Lindu, which they included without having seen any data from it (Barr, Barr & Salombe 1979:33), had already been found to be a Kulawi dialect by Esser in 1935 (Noorduyn ed. 1963:345). This was confirmed by Dyen, who gave 86.9 as their common cognacy percentage (Dyen 1965:28), and by Wumbu et al. (1983:46-55). In the *Language atlas of the Pacific area*, Lindu nonetheless figures as a separate language (Wurm & Hattori 1981-1983 no.43).

To these should be added 3 languages spoken in the mountains between the western and the eastern Toraja area (Napu, Bada'/Besoa, and Rampi' or Leboni), and Adriani's Bare'e, now called Pamona, in the Poso or eastern Toraja region.

In the eastern part of this Central Sulawesi province, there are 5 languages spoken on the eastern peninsula and surrounding islands. One of these, called Andi'o and spoken by some one and a half thousand people in the easternmost Balantak area, has only recently been discovered. There is an Andi'o list of 100 words in Barr, Barr and Salombe (1979:102-104) and another, differing from the latter by ± 50 per cent, in an unpublished survey report (Wumbu et al. 1983:135-138). It should be noted that this is not the same language as the one called Bobongko, despite Barr, Barr and Salombe's statement (1979:36) that they chose to use the name Andi'o in place of Bobongko because the latter has somewhat derogatory overtones. Bobongko is still spoken by a small group of people on one of the nearby Togian islands (Wumbu et al. 1983:16,29,84-87) as it was when Adriani first reported about it (1900:429-460), and clearly differs from the Andi'o spoken in Balantak, witness such vocabulary items as *bagu* and *bu'o* 'new' (Wumbu et al. 1983:56,137). In Wurm and Hattori (1981-1983 no.43) both are mistakenly given the name Andi'o as if they were one language. The 3 other languages spoken here are Saluan, Balantak and Banggai.

With 2 more languages spoken on the east coast of Central Sulawesi (Mori and Bungku), the sum total for this province amounts to 25.

Not surprisingly, the number of speakers of most of these languages is small to very small, not exceeding some thousands or tens of thousands. Only 2 languages have more than one hundred thousand speakers: Pamona and its dialects (c.110,000) and Kaili and its dialects (c.300,000), nearly half of the latter being speakers of the Palu dialect.

If we now complete the picture by totalling the numbers mentioned so far for the languages in the various islands and provinces of Indonesia, it has been posited that the number of languages spoken in Java is 5 and in Sumatra 16, which makes 21 in total. In contrast, the number of languages spoken in Sulawesi is more than three times as high: in the province of North Sulawesi 17, in Central Sulawesi 25, in South Sulawesi 23, and in South-East Sulawesi 15, which amounts to a total of 80. Of course, these figures are not to be considered definitely established and exactly comparable, because the principles and methods used to determine them, as well as the degree of sophistication of the linguistic research which produced them, may well have differed from area to area. They may nonetheless serve to illustrate the great contrast between the linguistic situation in Sulawesi and that in some of the other large islands.

Essentially the same difference also manifests itself in the matter of subgrouping. This is most strikingly demonstrated in the language map and survey of languages in Indonesia which were

of 1 language, which he called Kaili, consisting of West Kaili, Central Kaili and East Kaili dialects, and he was inclined to consider Kulawi a South Kaili dialect.

published by Esser (1938) in the *Atlas van Tropisch Nederland*. Esser's survey, covering the whole of Indonesia, has 16 groups of Austronesian languages, among them 1 for Sumatra, 1 for Java and 1 for Borneo, but then 8 for Sulawesi, and another 4 for the rest of Indonesia, making 8 out of 15, or more than half, for Sulawesi. One should bear in mind, moreover, that the number of groups distinguished by Esser was already a reduction compared to that given by Adriani in 1914. Adriani had 11 groups for Sulawesi plus a few still unclassified languages. He had a West Toraja and an East Toraja group, which Esser combined into one Toraja group, and, secondly, Esser was the first to have one South Sulawesi group, which included 3 of Adriani's groups: the Makasarese-Buginese, the Sa'dan Toraja and the Mandarese.

Though a few changes have been made to Esser's list of language groups since he published it, and apart from Dyen's grand lexicostatistical classification (Dyen 1965), which has not had much influence, it is remarkable that after fifty years Esser's description of the language situation in Indonesia has remained essentially unchallenged until today, the more so because Esser himself was far from satisfied with the data he put into his map. This is quite clear from his comments to be found in one of his quarterly reports, from which some quotations were published only twenty-five years afterwards (Noorduyn, ed. 1963:335-336). In view of recent discussions on the subgrouping of western Indonesian languages (Blust 1981:461; Nothofer 1985:298), it may be interesting to cite some of Esser's casual remarks, translated from the Dutch.

"This language map", he says in 1931 when he was drafting the map, "gives an incorrect impression in that several things are included in it which are by no means incontestable, but that cannot be avoided in such a kind of work" (Noorduyn, ed. 1963:334). In 1938 he gives an example: "This subgrouping is still very preliminary, especially as regards the western part of the Archipelago. It will probably be more satisfactory to divide the Sumatra group into three, namely, 1. Acheh, 2. the languages to the west of Sumatra, and 3. the Malay group, while to the latter also Sundanese and some of the Dayak languages will have to be added. But as long as still so little is known about the borders in Borneo, it seems better provisionally to keep the old subgrouping (which I have adopted from older maps)" (p.336).

In these brief notes Esser naturally did not go into his reasons for preferring one classification over another nor into his subgrouping criteria. Another brief remark shows what he had in mind in this respect and how confident he was in the results obtained. After a brief visit to Bali in 1937 and a few days of discussion with Goris, who had studied the languages of Bali and Lombok, Esser concluded that "as to Balinese, it appeared that this should be detached from the group of Java languages and joined to that of Sasak and Sumbawanese, as it shares with the latter not only a great many words but also several grammatical particulars" (p.336). Not surprisingly this conclusion has not been confirmed by Dyen's lexicostatistical data; he considers Sasak and Balinese rather to be coordinate with Sundanese (Dyen 1965:49).

Since the classification of the Sulawesi languages which is currently in use chiefly stems from Adriani, it seems worthwhile to investigate his subgrouping criteria. This is not easy since Adriani is seldom explicit about his criteria. His usual method of comparing languages is to give a sketch of each of them by mentioning various features of their phonology, word structure, vocabulary and grammar, and to present these sketches as such with their differences and similarities as the basis for arriving at a certain subgrouping in a rather impressionistic way. Often his subgrouping decisions are given rather arbitrarily either after some weighing of the arguments, pro and contra, or with no arguments at all. His classifications often tend to emphasise that the borders between adjacent groups are vague and less rigid than previously thought, and the differences are gradual rather than clear-cut.

An illuminating example is Adriani's opinion on the presence or absence of tense forms as a subgrouping argument. There are West Toraja languages which have verbal prefixes with initial *n-* denoting past and present tense and with initial *m-* denoting future and optative tense, whereas East Toraja languages such as Bare'e or Pamona do not have such forms. Adriani (1914:102-108) reduced the importance of this difference, which previously had been considered a strong and significant dividing line between two large subgroups of languages, by using two arguments. First, he demonstrated that these two groups of Toraja languages are so closely related in other respects, lexically, phonologically and morphologically, that having tense forms or not cannot be such a decisive criterion. His second argument was a historical one. The past forms with initial *n-* such as *na-* had already been explained as abbreviations of compound prefixes such as *mina-*, consisting of a prefix *ma-* and an infix *-in-*, which are known in Philippine languages as past forms. The formal tense difference was preserved in these Toraja languages after this abbreviation took place because the *na-: ma-* contrast remained. But in languages in which the infix *-in-* had earlier changed into a prefix *ni-*, whereby the compound prefix became *nima-*, the tense difference disappeared when a similar process of abbreviation reduced this prefix to *ma-*. Examples of closely related languages, one of which has prefix *mina-* for past marker, the other having *nima-*, are known to occur in Minahasa (cf. Sneddon 1978:89-90). This ingenious diachronic argument serves to explain not only the difference between languages with and without such tense forms but also why this difference must not be considered an overriding subgrouping criterion.

This conclusion of Adriani's has been completely confirmed by recent lexicostatistical research. Calculations by Barr, Barr and Salombe (1979:26-27) on the basis of 100-item wordlists have established that there is one Kaili-Pamona subgroup, comprising all of Adriani's West and East Toraja languages, with a mutual relationship of upwards of 61 per cent shared basic vocabulary (with the 7 Kaili dialects having a relationship of 82 to 91 per cent), which coordinates with a similarly composed Tomini subgroup.

Not surprisingly in view of this multilingual area, lexicostatistical methods (establishing the percentages of shared cognates in basic wordlists) have been used fairly extensively for a first exploration of the complicated situation. In both South and Central Sulawesi and in the Minahasa area the relationships have been determined by lexicostatistics. Both the strengths and the weaknesses of the technique have come to light in the results.

On the one hand, the application of statistical methods has produced much more rigidity in the results than before. Among other things, different levels of relationships have been recognised. Sneddon has, for instance, established that the 5 Minahasan languages consist, first, of two groups: Tonsawang on the one hand, and the 4 others, called North Minahasan languages by him, on the other. The latter consist of Tontemboan on the one hand, and the 3 others, called North-East Minahasan by him, on the other (Sneddon 1978:20-69). The 5 languages of Sneddon's Sangiric subgroup are similarly arranged (Sneddon 1984), and the 6 Gorontalic languages are directly related on a higher level with the group of Mongondow and Ponosakan (Sneddon & Usup 1986:410). The next item on the agenda is clearly to establish the relationship between the Minahasan, Sangiric and Gorontalic/Mongondow subgroups. A study to this end has hardly begun. Sneddon (1984:12) collected a small amount of evidence, in the form of shared innovations, for the recognition of a Sangiric-Minahasan group by listing nineteen examples of Proto Sangiric and Proto Minahasan cognates – and one can find a few more – though without making reconstructions for Proto Sangiric-Minahasan. As yet, he states, comparative study has not been detailed enough to enable a systematic statement of shared phonological innovations in the two groups. It therefore seems premature when

in the *Language atlas of the Pacific area* (Wurm & Hattori 1981-1983 no.43) the Minahasan and Sangiric subgroups are combined into one supergroup. Still more difficult is the combination of these two with the Gorontalic/Mongondow subgroup, even though there are a few exclusively shared innovations, such as PMin, PSan, PGM *bungang* 'flower' and *uala* 'canine tooth', and more can be found, such as PGM *watok* 'step(-father etc.)', Sangir *uataq*, Tontemboan *tolo/atek* and Tombulu, Tonse *lolo/atek*.

Obviously, lexicostatistics and comparing lists of 100 or 200 words as the only material are only the first steps to subgrouping. Subsequently complete lexicons and morphological elements must be compared and considered and, as Sneddon has shown, reconstructions of proto-words, such as Proto Minahasan or Proto Sangiric, must be carried out.

On the other hand, the greatest risks of arbitrary decisions and downright mistakes are, as is well known, especially contained in the basic activities of collecting the wordlists and establishing shared cognates. Besides these things, the greatest enemy is borrowing, which introduces the problem of how to eliminate inconspicuous loan words. An example of how confusing the results can be is Kulawi, one of the Kaili dialects of the West Toraja area, which nonetheless shows 86 per cent shared basic cognates with the neighbouring language Pipikoro, presumably through borrowing (Barr, Barr & Salombe 1979:34).

Another example, showing not only how basic words (that is words belonging to the core-lexicon, normally regarded as less subject to external influence, as envisaged in the 100-word and 200-word Swadesh lists) can be eliminated by borrowed ones, but also how real relationships can be obscured in the process, is Makasarese. There the words *baji*? 'good', *tinggi* 'high' and *tuju* 'seven' are basic words which are clearly borrowings from Malay; but *baji*? has obviously pushed aside (and out of the basic wordlist) the Makasarese *pia*, now meaning 'cured, healed', and in this way has lowered the statistical relationship with Mandarese, Sa'dan Toraja, Mongondow, Sangir etc., which all show *mapia* 'good'.

A clear example of the risks involved can be seen by comparing the relationship matrix for the South Sulawesi group of languages presented by Mills (1975:492,498) with that presented by Grimes and Grimes (1987:19). Not only do the percentages in the two matrices differ to some extent (although not significantly) but, even though they agree in positing only one subgroup within the South Sulawesi group (called proto-Sa'dan by Mills and Northern South Sulawesi by Grimes and Grimes), they also partly disagree as to which languages are included in this subgroup (according to Mills it includes Pitu Ulunna Salu, Mamuju, Seko, Sa'dan and Massenrempulu, whereas Grimes and Grimes include Mandarese and exclude Seko). Presumably the presentation of Grimes and Grimes is an improvement on Mills because of the larger quantity of their material, though their own conclusions have partly been improved again by new material from more recent surveys. This does not mean that Mills's book of 900 pages about the South Sulawesi languages is useless. In spite of many unfounded speculations, unfair judgements and egregious errors, it contains much valuable material and many intelligent remarks and useful results – his 300 pages of Proto South Sulawesi reconstructions is an especially valuable collection.

On the basis of these examples it may not be surprising that the situation within the large subgroup of South Sulawesi is still far from clear because the material available is still decidedly insufficient.

Despite what has been said above, it is possible to mention here an example of a clearly successful application of the lexicostatistical method as a simple way of determining the relationships between languages. This is the case of the Wotu language, which is spoken by a few thousand people in two

villages on the northern coast of Bone Bay in a region bordering on the Buginese area to the west, the Pamona (Poso) area to the north and the Mori-Bungku languages to the east. The position of Wotu has long been uncertain, in the first place because what is known about it has not exceeded a few wordlists and secondly because there could not be found an obvious relationship with any of its neighbouring languages. Adriani (1914:90-91) came to the conclusion that Wotu showed some similarity to both Buginese and East Toraja, but on the basis of its vocabulary could not be classified as one of the Toraja languages; he was of the opinion that it was a transitional language between Bare'e and Buginese but should be classified in one subgroup with the latter. Esser (1938), on the other hand, put Wotu in the Toraja group as a separate subgroup next to the West and the East Toraja languages. However, a few years later he changed his opinion, after he had made a close study of the language, and concluded that it belonged to the Buginese group (Noorduyn, ed. 1963:356). Mills (1975:134,604-612) however, writing about the South Sulawesi languages and studying the little Wotu material published by Adriani, came to the conclusion that it does not belong to this group but did not propose an alternative.

The best solution to the problem appears to be that resulting from the lexicostatistical survey by Grimes and Grimes (1987). They found that Wotu shared its highest percentage of cognates not with any of the neighbouring languages but with Laiolo/Barang-Barang in southern Salayar, at a great distance from the Wotu settlement itself.

It is indeed striking that all groups of languages recognised as subgroups in Sulawesi appear to be most closely related to adjacent subgroups, and within each subgroup often the languages situated near its border appear to be most similar to languages located nearby across this border. As a result the entire language situation to a large extent gives the impression of gradual transitions, as Adriani rightly stressed, which can only partially be explained from the influence of borrowing and areal features. This overall picture evidently has not stimulated researchers to look farther away for closely related languages in a problematic case such as Wotu.

In this case, it is true that before the survey of Grimes and Grimes, Esser had already pointed to two other possibilities of close connection with Wotu: firstly, the Ledo or Palu language of western Central Sulawesi, which he had studied himself and which has a negative *ledo* strikingly similar to the Wotu negative *laedo* and, secondly, the Wolio language on the island of Buton, both at a considerable distance from Wotu. When Esser wrote this, his main arguments were local Wotu traditions, according to which Wotu people had formerly emigrated both to Palu and to Buton (Noorduyn, ed. 1963:356-359). Although he did not explicitly mention Laiolo on the island of Salayar, the latter was nonetheless implicitly also included in the Wolio connection.

It had been known for some time that Laiolo was quite different from the other languages of South Sulawesi. This had already been noted by Jonker, who did not know, however, to which other language(s) it might belong. A close relationship with Buton had already been mentioned by van der Stok more than a century ago (1865:423) and Esser (1938) classified it as one of the Muna-Buton languages on his map. But no material has been available until quite recently to substantiate these claims. With the help of wordlists recently published (Grimes & Grimes 1987, Wotu and Barang-Barang; Stokhof 1984, Layolo) and even a dictionary (Anceaux 1987, Wolio), the necessary comparisons can now be made. They presumably show that the basic vocabularies – with a strong emphasis on the word 'basic' – are closely related. This can be confirmed by a characteristic morphophonemic feature contained in my own Barang-Barang material which I collected a few decades ago in Makassar. The third person object suffix of the transitive verb is *-a* in both Barang-Barang and Wolio (Anceaux 1952:27); this suffix has in both languages an allomorph *-ea* which is

used with stems having *-a* as final vowel. This allomorph is also used when the definite suffix *-mo* or the irrealis suffix *-po* occurs at the same time, in which case the vowel *o* of these suffixes is replaced by *-ea*.

It is curious – though not surprising – to note that it was the same Holle wordlist, collected by Koopman in 1897 and published recently by Stokhof (1984:199-211), that was used in establishing the relationship with Wolio above and, as the only Laiolo material at his disposal, formed the basis for Adriani's declaration that he had no hesitation at all in classifying Laiolo material in the same group as Buginese. The reason for this rather incautious opinion of Adriani's is not hard to find. Both the wordlist in question and my own material not surprisingly show that the Laiolo/Barang-Barang vocabulary has undergone a massive influence from the neighbouring Makasarese dialect of the other inhabitants of Salayar and, via the vocabulary, the sound system, word structure and even some of the pronominal prefixes also show this Makasarese influence; for example, the pronominal prefix of the third person has the exceptional form of *la-* in both Laiolo/Barang-Barang and the Salayarese dialect of Makasarese. In spite of this large number of Makasarese loan words in its lexicon, there can be no doubt that Laiolo does not belong to the South Sulawesi group but to the same group as Wolio.

Laiolo and Wolio have also clear lexical correspondences with Wotu and with languages of western Central Sulawesi such as Palu and Pipikoro. Some of the most diagnostic examples are the following:

	Laiolo	Wolio	Wotu	Palu	Pipikoro
leaf	<i>tafa</i>	<i>tawa</i>	<i>(dau)</i>	<i>tawa</i>	<i>(rau)</i>
person	<i>ito</i>	<i>(mia)</i>	<i>ito</i>	<i>ito</i>	<i>(tauna)</i>
wind	<i>ngalu</i>	<i>ngalu</i>	<i>(angi)</i>	<i>(pouri)</i>	<i>ngolu</i>
armpit	<i>keke</i>	<i>keke</i>	<i>?</i>	<i>keke</i>	<i>(kirikiq)</i>

One thing must be evident from what has been said so far: an enormous amount of language material is to be found on the island of Sulawesi and much of it is still awaiting collection and investigation. There are questions of a more general purport which obviously cannot be answered until very much more material has become available for systematic study than is accessible at this moment. One of these questions is the most general one in the present context: is there a Sulawesi supergroup comprising all languages spoken on the mainland and surrounding islands, and all subgroups mentioned so far? Or, in other words, was there once a Proto Sulawesi language?

Although it is clearly impossible at present to give an answer to this question, or even to broach a real discussion of this problem, it will inevitably have to be posed and discussed at some time in the future. Nevertheless I wish to bring forward two questions which may be raised in this context as a preparation to a discussion of the larger problem.

The first question, which immediately arises, is to what extent the languages in northern Sulawesi may be counted as belonging in some way to the Philippine group or supergroup of languages.

The languages of Minahasa, Sangir and Talaud, and Bolaang Mongondow have been classified as "Philippine languages of northern Sulawesi" since the late 19th century, when Adriani studied first Sangirese and afterwards Tontemboan. Esser followed Adriani's example in his language map of 1938, and the term is still used even in Stokhof's 1983 edition of the Holle wordlists. Adriani and Esser do not include in this group the 4 languages to the west of Bolaang Mongondow which were known to them. The latter were considered by them to constitute a separate "Gorontalo" subgroup,

coordinate with and transitional to the so-called Philippine subgroup (Adriani 1914:184). Although Adriani (p.183) regarded Mongondow as the most southerly member of the last-named group, he also discerned Philippine traits in the still more southerly Tomini language group (pp.175-178).

Brandstetter did not yet know these "transitional" languages when he was asked by the anthropologist F. Sarasin for his opinion about the Minahasan languages. He wrote (1906) in reply a three-page argument that there existed a significant distinction between them and the other languages of Sulawesi and a similarly significant agreement with the Philippine languages. His obviously incomplete evidence was also one-sided in that he gave examples from Mongondow (which is not a Minahasan language!) as evidence for his statement that the Minahasan languages agreed with those of the Philippines in having *g* as reflex of Proto Austronesian **R*, rather than *r*, as in Makasarese and Buginese, or zero, as in Toraja (Bare'e). He did not add that the normal Minahasan reflex, even in reconstructed Proto Minahasan, is *h* (Sneddon 1978:69). But other problems have arisen since Brandstetter. In the first place doubts have been raised about the existence of Proto Philippine as a "meso-language" (Reid 1982; Sneddon 1984:11). Sneddon (1978:11, 1984:4) treats both the Minahasan and the Sangiric group as reflexes of Proto Philippine, although they are considered by some to lie outside the Philippine group (Charles 1974), while even the Sangiric languages are believed by other researchers (Walton 1979; Llamzon & Martin 1976) to be at best only distantly related to the Philippine languages.

On the other hand, Mongondow has recently been proved to be more closely related to the Gorontalic languages to the west than to the Minahasan languages to the east (Noorduyn 1982:258; Usup 1986:3). Further, new evidence has recently been adduced showing that all languages west of Mongondow up to Buol constitute one group of Gorontalic languages, which is most closely related with Mongondow (Usup 1986:216-220). This means that if Mongondow is a "Philippine" language the Gorontalic group must be also. In that case there must be a rather sharp border to the west of Buol, between Buol and Toli-Toli. If the available evidence is examined, there is at least a problem of interpretation here. Barr, Barr and Salombe (1979:26,30) give a 61 per cent cognate relationship between Buol and Toli-Toli and are anxious to explain this comparatively high percentage by influence from long historical contact. But Usup (1986:68) gives an estimate of 41 per cent for the same wordlists as those given in Barr, Barr and Salombe (1979:81-83) and counting the cognates in these lists myself, I find 43-45 per cent. More evidence and further research are obviously needed in this matter.

It must nonetheless be said that Brandstetter's argument is basically valid. It is true that the subgroups for which a proto-language has been reconstructed each have a different reflex of Proto Austronesian **R*, namely Proto Sangiric *R* (Sneddon 1984:39-41), Proto Minahasan *h* (Sneddon 1978:69), Proto Gorontalic-Mongondow *g* (Usup 1986:280) and Proto South Sulawesi *R* (Mills 1975:357-366), while the majority of Central Sulawesi (Toraja) languages have zero (through *y*). This means that, when the reflexes of **R* are used as a criterion, these five subgroups of Sulawesi languages cannot be combined into one exclusive supergroup. This conclusion agrees with that reached by Sirk (1981:33) who, when discussing the case of the connection between the South Sulawesi group and the Toraja languages, states that "the supergroup hypothesis finds little if any support in available data". Rather, items in a South Sulawesi language which show a zero reflex of **R*, such as Bugis *uaé* and Sa'dan *uai* versus Makasar Konjo *éré* 'water', and Sa'dan *muané* versus Bugis *woroané* and Makasar *buraqné* 'man', must be borrowings from a Toraja language or, rather, "substrata originating from aboriginal languages of their present-day area".

However, one wonders how ancient the splits between these five Sulawesi subgroups are, when one finds Philippine lexical items not only in the northern Sulawesi subgroups but also in South Sulawesi. Some examples are *pia* 'good' (South Sulawesi, Sangiric, Gorontalo-Mongondow), *butaq* 'land' (Makasar *butta*, Gorontalo-Mongondow *butaq*) and even exclusively shared innovations such as *lipu* 'country' (South Sulawesi, Gorontalo-Mongondow only).

An example of a different dimension is the beneficiary/causative suffix *-aken* (e.g. in Javanese), which occurs in Central Sulawesi as *-aka* (Uma, Pamona, but also Wolio, Laiolo) and in eastern Sulawesi as *-ako* (Mori, Tolaki). It is ancient because of Proto Oceanic *-aki(ni)*, and especially so in Sulawesi if Sirk's claim is correct that it originated in Sulawesi. Sirk (1978:265) argues that it has merged with the suffix *-ken* (cf. Malay *-kan*, Sundanese *-keun*) everywhere else but in the central Sulawesi languages, where the latter suffix occurs as *-ka* next to *-aka* and with different semantic functions. But it is completely absent from South Sulawesi and cannot be reconstructed for Proto South-Sulawesi. Here its semantic functions are carried out by *-an* (e.g. in Sa'dan), which is *-ang* in Makasarese and Buginese. This change from *-an* to *-ang* must have occurred through generalised velarisation of final *-n* (universal in Makasarese and Buginese) and (because of Sa'dan *-an*) not through the influence of *-k-* on the final *-n* (as must have been the case with the Balinese suffix *-ang*, the only example of velarised *-n* in this language).

On a purely lexicostatistical basis, however, there may emerge a closer connection between the languages of South and Central Sulawesi, as is shown by Dyen's lexicostatistical classification. Dyen (1965:27) finds a Celebes Hesion, consisting of Pamona (Bare'e) and Lindu on the one hand, and Makasarese and Buginese on the other, based on 26.5 per cent cognacy, though he also remains hesitant about this result (p.47). As to the other Sulawesi languages included in Dyen's classification, he tentatively concludes that either Tontemboan (one of the Minahasan languages) and Gorontalo (Gorontalo and Suwawa) are each coordinate with the group of all the languages of Sumatra, Java and Bali, or Tontemboan is coordinate with this group including Gorontalo, while he believes that Sangir may be closer to Gorontalo than to Tontemboan.

These almost inconclusive results tend to show that the lexicostatistical method can hardly be expected to bring the problem of the relationships between the languages of Sulawesi closer to a solution. It is, moreover, obviously impossible to apply this method to the limited vocabularies of reconstructed proto-languages of subgroups, since the lexical material of such proto-languages is insufficient to provide the basic wordlists needed for the purpose.

The second question that may be asked is whether there are characteristic features common to all Sulawesi languages or to at least a large number of them extending beyond one subgroup.

In answering this question, I may mention one widespread phenomenon as a possible candidate for a common trait of such a larger group: the parallelisms in the inflectional forms of the verb. To show how widespread these are, and also how different in detail, I give the following examples from languages of different groups:

Verbal inflection

he sees me

South Sulawesi group

Makasar *na-cini-ka'*

Bugis *na-ita-wa'*

Sa'dan *na-kita-na'*

Possessive suffixes

my house

ballak-ku

bola-ku

banua-ngku

Muna-Buton group		
Barang-Barang	<i>la-longa-aku</i>	<i>sapo-ku</i>
Wolio	<i>a-kamata-aku</i>	<i>banua-ku</i>
Muna	<i>no-wora-kanau</i>	<i>lambu-ku</i>
East Sulawesi group		
Tolaki	<i>no-toa-aku</i>	<i>laika-nggu</i>
Mori	<i>i-kita-aku</i>	<i>raha-ku</i>
Kaili-Pamona group		
Uma	<i>na-hilo-a</i>	<i>tomi-ku</i>
Pamona	<i>na-kitayaku</i>	<i>banua-ku</i>

It should be remarked in the first place that one of the reasons why examples are here given from only ten languages is the lack of information concerning this subject matter in other languages of the same subgroups. Whether all languages of these subgroups possess similar verbal inflection is simply not known and an answer to this question, however probable it may seem, cannot be given until grammatical descriptions of these languages have been produced and published.

Secondly, however, there are other Sulawesi languages, found in the northern half of the island, which are known to have no comparable verbal inflection. In Gorontalo, for instance, 'he sees me' is expressed as *waatia he bililohu-lío* (I being seen by-him), in which the pronominal suffix of the third person *-lío* serves as agent marker. The fundamental characteristic of this inflection is that this verbal suffix is the same as the possessive suffix which is used with nouns. Whereas there is a formal difference between these verbal and nominal (possessive) suffixes in the languages from which examples are listed above, in Gorontalo they are the same. 'His house' is *bele-lío* in Gorontalo, with the same suffix *-lío*. For this reason this kind of inflection has often been termed the possessive inflection.

It may perhaps be concluded that the occurrence of a separate verbal inflection is widespread among Sulawesi languages, but only in the southern half of the island, that is, in the four subgroups mentioned above (and perhaps one or two more), whereas the possessive inflection is found in the northern half of the island.

Finally it may be remarked that this situation does not imply that the possessive suffixes are never used with verbs in languages which have special verbal pronominal suffixes. In fact when they *are* used they have special semantic or syntactic marking. An interesting example may be given from Makasarese. In that language 'I see him' is *ku-cini'-ki* and 'he goes away' is *a'lampa-i*, but these two sentences can be conjoined by replacing the pronominal suffixes of both verbs by the corresponding possessive suffixes, producing the sentence *ku-cini'-na a'lampa-na*, 'when I saw him he went away', in which the use of possessive suffixes expresses a special semantic-syntactic relationship between the two verbs. This construction is usually called the nominal construction, but it could equally well be termed a possessive inflection.

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THE LANGUAGES OF BRUNEI DARUSSALAM

BERND NOTHOFFER

The sultanate Brunei Darussalam has a population of about 220,000. More than half live in the Brunei-Muara district, that is, in the area surrounding the capital of Brunei (Bandar Seri Begawan). This district has an area of 570 square kilometres (one tenth of the whole land area of Brunei).¹

The majority of the remaining population lives in the coastal areas which form a belt that reaches about 30km inland. To the south of this belt we find only about 12,000 inhabitants. Most people in the coastal areas are Muslims and belong to ethnic groups other than the Ibanic group.

We look at the linguistic situation in Brunei by dealing first with the various Malay dialects used in this country and then with the other languages (see also Map 2: Language map of Brunei Darussalam).

1. MALAY ISOLECTS

1) Kedayan or Kadayan²

This is a Malay dialect used by about 30,000 Bruneians mainly in the western parts of Brunei-Muara district and in the easternmost areas of Tutong district. There are also several villages in north-west Temburong where Kedayan is the first language. The Kedayan (KM) dialect shows the following cognate percentages with other Malay dialects: with Peninsular Standard Malay (PSM) 80 per cent, with the Malay dialect of Bandar Seri Begawan (Brunei Malay (BM)) 94 per cent and with the Malay dialect of Kampung Air (KAM) 95 per cent.

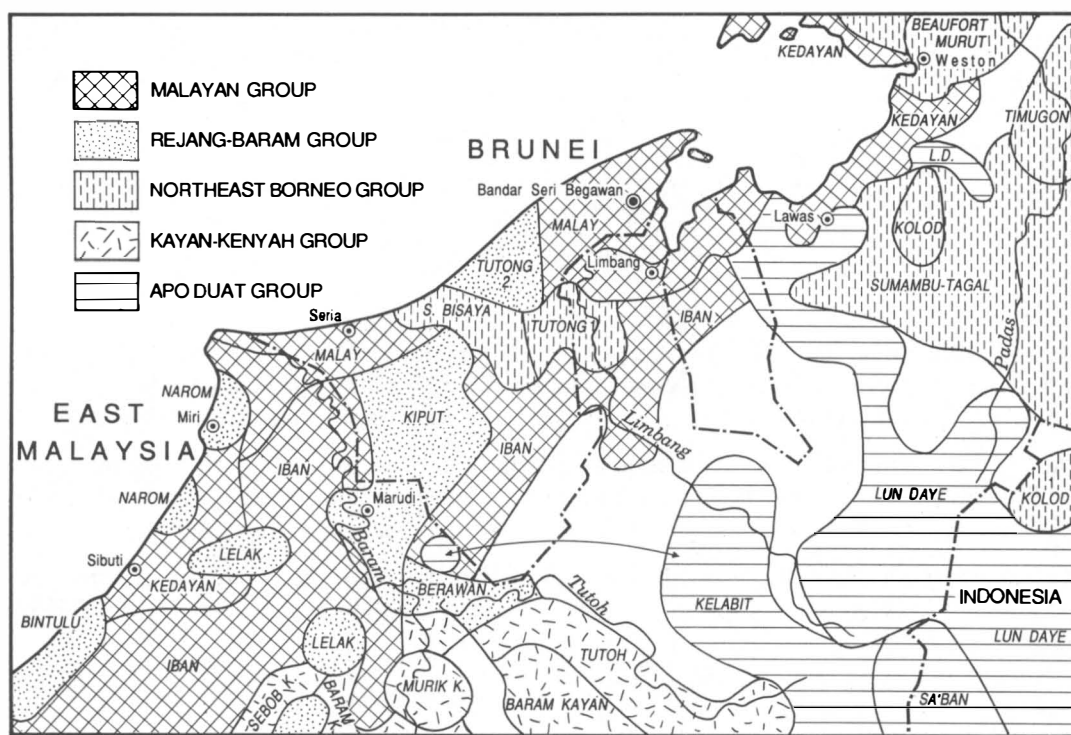
The main phonological features that distinguish Kedayan from Peninsular Standard Malay are the following:

a) PAN **r* and **R* which appear as PSM *r* become \emptyset or long vowel in KM: PSM *rumah*, KM *umah* 'house'; PSM *darah*, KM *dāh* 'blood'; PSM *məndəŋar*, KM *māndaŋā* 'to hear'.

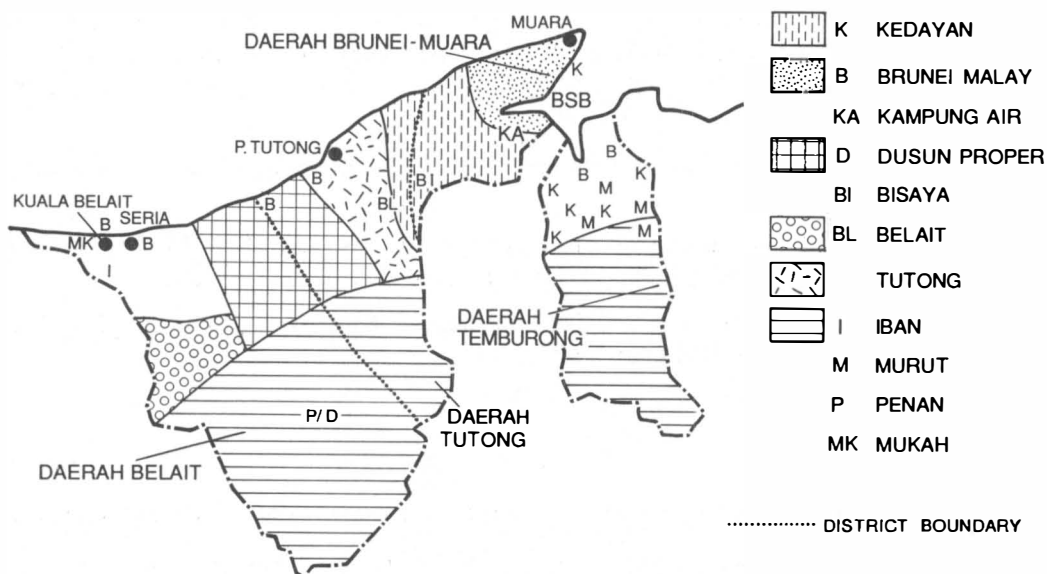
b) PAN **q* and **h* which initially and medially often become \emptyset in PSM appear as *h* in KM: PSM *abu*, KM *habu* 'ashes'; PSM *tiaŋ*, KM *tihāŋ* 'pole'.

¹An earlier version of this paper was presented at the Sixth European Colloquium on Indonesian and Malay Studies, held in Passau, Germany, 22-27 June 1987.

²The Kedayan informant is from the village of Tanjung Bunut (2km west of Bandar Seri Begawan).



MAP 1: LANGUAGES OF THE BRUNEI AREA



MAP 2: LANGUAGE MAP OF BRUNEI DARUSSALAM

An example of morphological differences between Peninsular Standard Malay and Kedayan is the form of the possessive pronoun for the first person singular: PSM has *-ku* and KM has *-ku* or *-ŋku*, the latter appearing before heads with a final vowel, e.g. *mulutku* 'my mouth' but *matanŋku* 'my eye'.

There are also quite a few lexical differences between Peninsular Standard Malay and Kedayan as indicated by the cognate percentage of 80 per cent (see Swadesh lists, Appendix 2).

2) Kampung Air¹

This is the dialect used mainly in the water villages along the Brunei River in and north of Bandar Seri Begawan. This dialect has about 25,000 speakers. Kampung Air shows the following cognate percentages with other Malay dialects: with Peninsular Standard Malay 82 per cent, with Brunei Malay 94 per cent and with Kedayan 95 per cent.

The main phonological features that distinguish Kampung Air from Peninsular Standard Malay are the following:

a) the development of PAN **R* and **r* to KAM *y*: PSM *rumah*, KAM *yumah*; PSM *məmərah*, KAM *məmayah* 'to squeeze'; PSM *tidur*, KAM *tidoy* 'to sleep'.

b) Kampung Air uses *-ŋku* before heads with a final vowel.

As indicated by the cognate percentage of 82 percent, there exist a considerable number of lexical differences between Peninsular Standard Malay and Kampung Air (see Swadesh lists, Appendix 2).

3) Brunei Malay²

This is the dialect of Bandar Seri Begawan and its surroundings as well as certain towns in Tutong, Belait and Temburong. It is also used as a lingua franca among most young and educated Bruneians (living in coastal areas) who have another Malay dialect or another language as their native language. According to Wurm and Hattori (1983: map 41) there are 85,000 speakers of Brunei Malay. Brunei Malay has a cognate percentage of 84 per cent with Peninsular Standard Malay.

Brunei Malay has *r* just as Peninsular Standard Malay has. For example both use *rumah*.

In Brunei Malay the possessive pronoun of the first person singular appears as *-ku* or *ŋku* before heads with a final vowel.

Compare the Swadesh lists in Appendix 2 for examples of lexical differences between Standard Malay and Brunei Malay.

Kedayan, Kampung Air and Brunei Malay share the following phonological developments:

a) PAN **ə* in penultimate position appears as *a*: **təluR* 'egg' > KM *talū*, KA *taloy*, BM *talur* (SM reflex is *ə*; *təluR*).

b) a PAN final vowel is followed by a glottal stop: **tali* 'rope' > M, KA and BM *taliʔ* (SM has no glottal in this case: *tali*).

c) PAN **-k* appears as *k*: **anak* 'child' > KM, KA and BM *anak* (in SM it becomes *ʔ*: *anaʔ*).

¹The Kampung Air informant comes from Kampung Air in Bandar Seri Begawan.

²The Brunei Malay informant is from Bandar Seri Begawan.

4) Peninsular Standard Malay

This is the dialect used in written materials, public speeches and other formal situations by persons with some kind of formal education. It was proclaimed the official national language in the Constitution of 1959 (section 82(1)). This dialect is one of the mediums of instruction in Brunei schools. However, the teachers admit that they often use Brunei Malay instead of the standard version, if they use Malay at all (see below), since it is almost identical with Peninsular Standard Malay, but with identifiable "Bruneiization" on all linguistic levels: final *a* is pronounced [a] as in the other Malay dialects used in Brunei. Only some radio and TV speakers use [ə]. Lexically we find a large number of Brunei Malay items when Bruneians use Peninsular Standard Malay, e.g. *damit* 'small', *uŋkayah* 'to promote', '*kita*' '2nd person singular'.

Thus, Brunei Malay and Peninsular Standard Malay are the Malay dialects which have a supraregional function, Brunei Malay being the informal and Peninsular Standard Malay the formal medium. Kedayan and Kampung Air are regional dialects.

Besides Brunei Malay and Peninsular Standard Malay, English is the other supraregional language. It is widely used in the capital and its surroundings as well as in the oil-producing areas. In order to spread the knowledge of English it has recently been made the medium of instruction beginning in the first grade of primary schools for all subjects except sports, Islamic studies and Malay language and literature. At the university level there is also a predominance of English as the medium of instruction: 100 students are admitted yearly to the English-medium BA programs and only 50 to the Malay-medium ones.

2. NON-MALAY ISOLECTS

Besides the described Malay dialects and English, several regional languages are used in Brunei Darussalam.

1) Tutong¹

This language (Wurm and Hattori (1983) use the name Tutong₂) is spoken by about 5,000 people who live in the central areas of the Tutong district. The closest relative of this language in Brunei is the Belait language with which it shares about 54 per cent of its basic vocabulary. This quantitative evidence is supported by qualitative data, that is, by innovations which are most probably exclusively shared by Tutong and Belait, for example:

	Tutong	Belait
needle	<i>taud</i>	<i>taud</i>
shoulder	<i>bayian</i>	<i>bayeh</i>
to split	<i>nəpi?</i>	<i>nəpe?</i>
to sew	<i>ancayoy</i>	<i>mayoy</i>
fish	<i>puta?</i>	<i>puta?</i>
afraid	<i>ba?ut</i>	<i>ba?ut</i>
to burn	<i>mayəh</i>	<i>mayah</i>
ashamed	<i>məsan</i>	<i>məsan</i>
red	<i>ma?əŋ</i>	<i>ma?əŋ</i>
blood	<i>əmma?</i>	<i>səma?</i>

¹The Tutong informant comes from Pancur Papan, a village a few kilometres south-east of Pekan Tutong.

woman	<i>tuyis</i>	<i>tuyē</i>
sand	<i>γit</i>	<i>γit</i>
thunder	<i>gəγoʔŋ</i>	<i>gəγoʔŋ</i>
to laugh	<i>γəseʔŋ</i>	<i>ŋəseʔŋ</i>
head	<i>ukuʔ</i>	<i>ukawʔ</i>

Tutong has a variety of dialects. One unexpected dialectal variation is the absence or presence of final voiced stops. In the coastal areas, which are more heavily influenced by Malay than the inland areas, Tutong has only voiceless final stops. In the inland areas both voiced and voiceless stops occur in final position.

2) Belait¹

The Belait language is used in the central parts of the Belait district and in a village in the central eastern section of the Tutong district (Kiudang). According to Wurm and Hattori (1983) there are about 1,000 speakers of this language.

The closest relative of Tutong and Belait in Brunei is the Dusun language.

3) Dusun

What is called the Dusun language (Wurm and Hattori (1983) use the names Tutong₁ and Southern Bisaya) is really one of two dialects of the same language. The other dialect is Bisaya[?] which is spoken in two villages, Batang Mitus and Bebuloh,² in the southernmost area of the Brunei Muara district. Dusun proper is used in the Belait and Tutong districts.³ In this paper I use the term 'Dusun language' to include both the Dusun proper and the Bisaya[?] dialects. If we look at the language map as it appears in Wurm and Hattori (see Map 1), we notice that their map does not agree with the linguistic situation as I observed it in my research which was carried out between February and May 1987 (see Map 2). Prentice's (1970) map (see Map 3) shows still another language distribution. According to Prentice II2C represents the Southern Bisaya[?] language (my Dusun language) and II2D the Tutong language.⁴ Furthermore, Wurm and Hattori (1983) treat Dusun proper (called Tutong₁) as a language different from Bisaya[?] (called Southern Bisaya). However, it is evident that Dusun proper and Bisaya[?] speakers use mutually intelligible dialects. This observation is supported by lexicostatistical data which indicate a relatively high cognate percentage of 82 per cent (compare the Swadesh lists).

According to Wurm and Hattori (1983) there are about 5,000 speakers of Dusun proper. The number of Bisaya[?] speakers which Wurm and Hattori (1983) put at 8,000 is much lower. According to my data Bisaya[?] is used by only about 500 speakers.

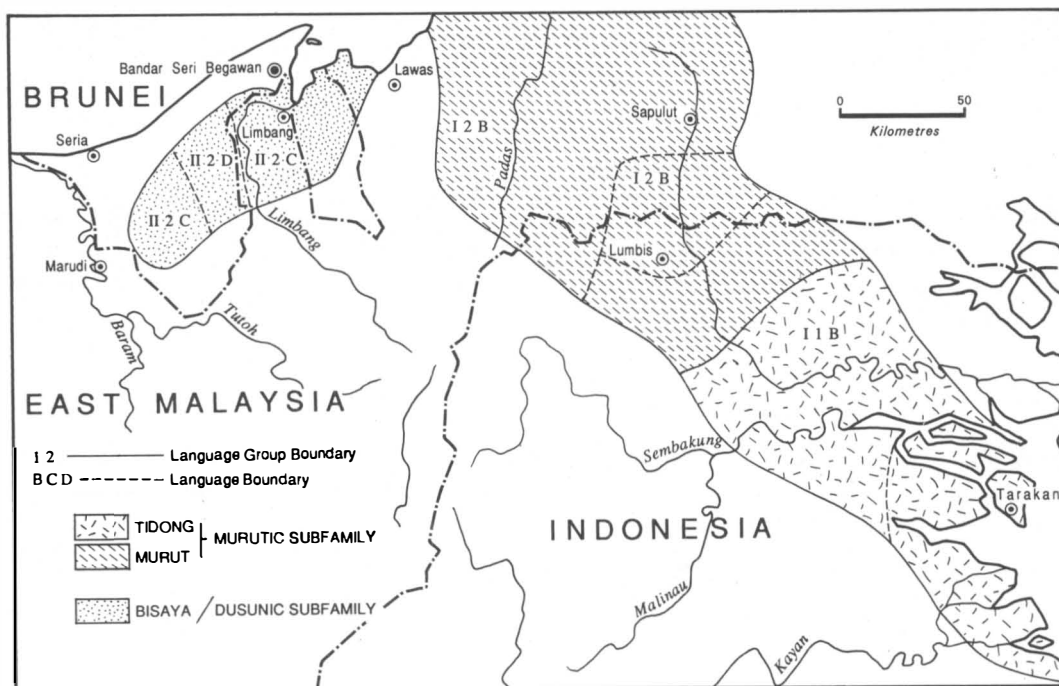
There are considerable subdialectal differences in the Dusun proper speaking areas. An example is the pronunciation of *r* which is an alveolar trill [r] in most coastal areas and a velar fricative [ɣ] in the inland areas.

¹The Belait informant is from Kiudang.

²The informant for Bisaya[?] is from Bebuloh.

³The informant for Dusun proper is from Kuala Ungur, a village about 20km south of Pekan Tutong.

⁴The wordlists and the descriptions of the language distribution for this part of Prentice's paper are taken from other scholars' research, in particular Ray (1913). The maps do not show that both languages are also used in the coastal areas of Brunei.



MAP 3: PRENTICE'S LANGUAGE MAP OF THE BRUNEI AREA

4) Penan

This language is used by about 45 people who reside in the village named Sukang in the southern Belait district. These people, who originally were nomadic and who originate from the upper Baram River area, were supplied with a longhouse by the Brunei government in the early 1960s.

Evidence which shows that Penan is relatively closely related to Tutong and Belait is the following list of exclusively shared innovations:

	Tutong	Belait	Penan
nephew, niece	<i>ayam</i>	<i>ajim</i>	<i>ayam</i>
neck	<i>batuk</i>	<i>batuk</i>	<i>batək</i>
to drink	- ¹	<i>məsap</i>	<i>məcəp</i>
husband	<i>banə^h</i>	<i>banəh</i>	<i>banən</i> 'wife'
to plant	<i>mulə^h</i>	<i>mulah</i>	<i>molah</i>
to count	-	<i>pudong</i>	<i>porong</i>
nine	<i>piʔən</i>	-	<i>piʔən</i>
leg	-	<i>agem</i>	<i>agem</i>
house	<i>lamin</i>	<i>ameən</i>	<i>lamin</i>

¹The dash (-) indicates that a language does not have a cognate form for the meaning listed.

5) Mukah

This isolect, which has a rather close relationship to Tutong and Penan, is only used in the westernmost part of Brunei in the coastal village of Sungai Teraban. Mukah speakers originate from the town of Mukah and its surroundings (in Sarawak, west of Bintulu). Mukah is considered a dialect of the Melanau language (Wurm & Hattori 1983, map 41).

Some evidence in support of the proposed relationship is the following:

	Tutong	Penan	Mukah
roof	-	<i>tsapaw</i>	<i>sapaw</i>
this	<i>itow</i>	<i>itow?</i>	<i>itow</i>
to sit	<i>kundu?</i>	-	<i>kudɔ?</i>
no	<i>endɔ^h</i>	-	<i>enda</i>
one	<i>jalo?</i>	-	<i>jala?</i>
you	-	<i>ka?aw</i>	<i>ka?aw</i>
stand	-	<i>nekedəŋ</i>	<i>pəkədəŋ</i>
mouth	-	<i>ujun</i>	<i>mujuən</i>
above	-	<i>bāw</i>	<i>bāw</i>
what	-	<i>enow?</i>	<i>inaw</i>

6) Murut¹

The so-called Murut language which is used in scattered communities in Temburong is a dialect of Lun Bawang. There are no exact figures on the size of this ethnic group, but it seems that this isolect does not have more than 1,500 speakers.

7) Iban²

This is the language spoken in the southern parts of Brunei. The Ibans are relatively recent immigrants into Brunei (beginning of this century). Most of them live in longhouses along the big rivers such as Sungai Belait or Sungai Tutong. It is difficult to obtain exact figures about the size of the Iban population in Brunei. According to Austin (1977) there were about 7,000 Ibans in Brunei in 1971.

The Iban language is considered by some scholars to be a dialect of Malay (see Cense & Uhlenbeck 1958). However, in agreement with Asmah Haji Omar (1983) I treat Iban as a separate language which is closely related to Malay (see Nothofer 1988). One piece of evidence for treating Iban as a separate language from Malay is the rather low cognate percentage between these two isolects: Peninsular Standard Malay and Iban share only 65 per cent of their basic vocabulary. A test of mutual intelligibility would most probably also show that these two isolects have to be considered two different languages. It is interesting to note that in most inland areas Iban is used as the lingua franca. Thus, Penan and Dusun speakers in Sukang (a village on the upper Belait river), for example, use Iban when communicating with each other and with Iban speakers.

¹The Murut informant is from the village of Parit in the mid to north-western part of Temburong district.

²The Iban informant comes from Sukang.

APPENDIX 2. SWADESH LISTS

	hand	left	right	leg	to walk	street, road
MS	tangan	kiri	kanan	kaki	berjalan	jalan
Kedayan	<i>taŋan</i>	<i>kiyi?</i>	<i>kanan</i>	<i>batis</i>	<i>baʃalan</i>	<i>jalan</i>
Kampung Air	<i>taŋan</i>	<i>kaeri?</i>	<i>kanan</i>	<i>batis</i>	<i>bəʃalan</i>	<i>jalan</i>
Brunei Malay	<i>taŋan</i>	<i>kiri?</i>	<i>kanan</i>	<i>batis</i>	<i>baʃalan</i>	<i>jalan</i>
Tutong	<i>ləŋɔn</i>	<i>kiyih</i>	<i>kətuwɔ?</i>	<i>puʔɔh</i>	<i>laʃaw</i>	<i>alunalun</i>
Belait	<i>əŋan</i>	<i>abiŋ</i>	<i>tuʔaw</i>	<i>agem</i>	<i>laʃaw</i>	<i>alin</i>
Penan	<i>ɔjɔ</i>	<i>səkabeŋ</i>	<i>sənaʔaw</i>	<i>gəm</i>	<i>lakaw</i>	<i>ləmalun</i>
Mukah	<i>paʔa</i>	<i>ulay</i>	<i>taʔaw</i>	<i>buduək</i>	<i>makaw</i>	<i>jalan</i>
Murut	<i>tidcu?</i>	<i>paʃabiŋ</i>	<i>patinuəh</i>	<i>kuʃud</i>	<i>nalan</i>	<i>dalan</i>
Dusun proper	<i>ləŋɔn</i>	<i>kiyi</i>	<i>ʃanan</i>	<i>atis</i>	<i>manaw</i>	<i>alunalun</i>
Bisaya?	<i>ləŋɔn</i>	<i>kibaŋ</i>	<i>kuanan</i>	<i>atis</i>	<i>manaw</i>	<i>təŋgayuh</i>
Iban	<i>ləŋaən</i>	<i>kiba?</i>	<i>kanaən</i>	<i>akey</i>	<i>baʃalay</i>	<i>jalay</i>

	come, arrive	to turn	to swim	dirty	dust	skin
MS	datang	belok	berenang	kotor	debu	kulit
Kedayan	<i>dataŋ</i>	<i>pusiŋ</i>	<i>baʃanaŋ</i>	<i>kamah</i>	<i>habuk</i>	<i>kulit</i>
Kampung Air	<i>dataŋ</i>	<i>belok</i>	<i>mənaŋaŋ</i>	<i>kamah</i>	<i>abuk</i>	<i>kulit</i>
Brunei Malay	<i>dataŋ</i>	<i>liŋkɔ?</i>	<i>bənaŋaŋ</i>	<i>kamah</i>	<i>aboʃ</i>	<i>kulit</i>
Tutong	<i>sabi?</i>	<i>biʃok</i>	<i>taŋuŋɔy^h</i>	<i>jama?</i>	<i>abuʃ</i>	<i>kulit</i>
Belait	<i>uceow?</i>	<i>puseəŋ</i>	<i>pəlaŋɔy</i>	<i>jami?</i>	<i>apək</i>	<i>kulet</i>
Penan	<i>awē</i>	<i>pekək</i>	<i>pəlaŋɔy</i>	<i>padəŋ</i>	<i>dāŋ</i>	<i>kulit</i>
Mukah	<i>tapa?</i>	<i>biŋkuək</i>	<i>tuwun</i>	<i>mama?</i>	<i>dabow</i>	<i>kulit</i>
Murut	<i>mədcin</i>	<i>?</i>	<i>ləmaŋɔy</i>	<i>məgəni?</i>	<i>bada</i>	<i>kubil</i>
Dusun proper	<i>mikot</i>	<i>?</i>	<i>səmaɗuy</i>	<i>ʃamah</i>	<i>abuk</i>	<i>kulit</i>
Bisaya?	<i>mikot</i>	<i>?</i>	<i>səmaɗuy</i>	<i>ʃamah</i>	<i>abuʃ</i>	<i>kulit</i>
Iban	<i>datay</i>	<i>niŋpaəŋ</i>	<i>niŋmray</i>	<i>kamah</i>	<i>abuə?</i>	<i>kuliət</i>

	back	stomach	bone	intestines	liver	breast
MS	belakang	perut	tulang	usus	hati	susu
Kedayan	<i>belakaŋ</i>	<i>paut</i>	<i>tulaŋ</i>	<i>isi paut</i>	<i>hatiʔ</i>	<i>susuʔ</i>
Kampung Air	<i>bəlaŋaŋ</i>	<i>payut</i>	<i>tulaŋ</i>	<i>ʔ</i>	<i>atiʔ</i>	<i>susuʔ</i>
Brunei Malay	<i>bəlaŋaŋ</i>	<i>parut</i>	<i>tulaŋ</i>	<i>usus</i>	<i>atiʔ</i>	<i>susuʔ</i>
Tutong	<i>likud</i>	<i>tian</i>	<i>tulaŋ</i>	<i>tənaiʔ</i>	<i>atiʰ</i>	<i>itiʔ</i>
Belait	<i>jūd</i>	<i>təjin</i>	<i>təlaŋ</i>	<i>tənaʔayʔ</i>	<i>atay</i>	<i>susuʔ</i>
Penan	<i>lekət</i>	<i>bətukən</i>	<i>tulaŋ</i>	<i>ʔ</i>	<i>atay</i>	<i>etē</i>
Mukah	<i>butā</i>	<i>paʔit</i>	<i>tuleaŋ</i>	<i>dabay</i>	<i>ati</i>	<i>susow</i>
Murut	<i>kətəd</i>	<i>batək</i>	<i>tulaŋ</i>	<i>tine</i>	<i>ate</i>	<i>itiʔ</i>
Dusun proper	<i>likud</i>	<i>tian</i>	<i>tulaŋ</i>	<i>tənay</i>	<i>əŋkayaw</i>	<i>susu</i>
Bisayaʔ	<i>likud</i>	<i>tənaih</i>	<i>tulaŋ</i>	<i>ʔ</i>	<i>gənaʷuh</i>	<i>susuʔ</i>
Iban	<i>balakaəŋ</i>	<i>pəruət</i>	<i>tulaəŋ</i>	<i>pərutmeət</i>	<i>atey</i>	<i>susu</i>

	shoulder	know	to think	afraid	blood	head
MS	bahu	tahu	berpikir	takut	darah	kepala
Kedayan	<i>bahuʔ</i>	<i>tahuʔ</i>	<i>bʌpikī</i>	<i>takut</i>	<i>dāh</i>	<i>kʌpalaʔ</i>
Kampung Air	<i>bauʔ</i>	<i>tauʔ</i>	<i>pikir</i>	<i>ijap</i>	<i>dayah</i>	<i>kəpalaʔ</i>
Brunei Malay	<i>bauʔ</i>	<i>tauʔ</i>	<i>bəpikir</i>	<i>takut</i>	<i>darah</i>	<i>kəpalaʔ</i>
Tutong	<i>bayian</i>	<i>manjaʔ</i>	<i>bʌpikey</i>	<i>baʔut</i>	<i>əmaʔ</i>	<i>ukuʔ</i>
Belait	<i>bayeəh</i>	<i>məciʔ</i>	<i>bəpikey</i>	<i>baʔut</i>	<i>səmaʔ</i>	<i>ukawʔ</i>
Penan	<i>pəsuaŋ</i>	<i>jām</i>	<i>kiraʔ</i>	<i>məday</i>	<i>dahaʔ</i>	<i>ulun</i>
Mukah	<i>kapey</i>	<i>taʔaw</i>	<i>bəpikiy</i>	<i>məŋeaŋ</i>	<i>dāʔ</i>	<i>ulow</i>
Murut	<i>tudəŋ</i>	<i>kəliʔ</i>	<i>ŋərawē</i>	<i>mətaud</i>	<i>daraʔ</i>	<i>uluh</i>
Dusun proper	<i>təmbəwə</i>	<i>panday</i>	<i>bəpikey</i>	<i>ləmaḵaḵ</i>	<i>ya</i>	<i>ulu</i>
Bisayaʔ	<i>mbawəh</i>	<i>panday</i>	<i>bəpikey</i>	<i>ləməḵəḵ</i>	<i>yaʔ</i>	<i>uluh</i>
Iban	<i>bau</i>	<i>nəmuʔ</i>	<i>bʌpikiət</i>	<i>takuət</i>	<i>darah</i>	<i>palaʔ</i>

	neck	hair	nose	to breathe	to smell, to kiss	mouth
MS	leher	rambut	hidung	bernapas	mencium	mulut
Kedayan	<i>lihī</i>	<i>ambut</i>	<i>hiduŋ</i>	<i>baʔaŋih</i>	<i>maŋcium</i>	<i>mulut</i>
Kampung Air	<i>lehe:</i>	<i>yambut</i>	<i>iduŋ</i>	<i>bənapas</i>	<i>məncium</i>	<i>mulut</i>
Brunei Malay	<i>liher</i>	<i>rambut</i>	<i>iduŋ</i>	<i>bənapas</i>	<i>məncium</i>	<i>mulut</i>
Tutong	<i>batuḵ</i>	<i>əpuk</i>	<i>əndoŋ</i>	<i>baŋnapas</i>	<i>ñium</i>	<i>baḗaʔ</i>
Belait	<i>batuḵ</i>	<i>suk</i>	<i>ndəʔŋ</i>	<i>bənapas</i>	<i>madaḵ</i>	<i>munəʔŋ</i>
Penan	<i>batək</i>	<i>bək</i>	<i>rəŋ</i>	<i>lasət</i>	<i>marət</i>	<i>ujun</i>
Mukah	<i>təŋəʔ</i>	<i>buək</i>	<i>uduəŋ</i>	<i>bənapay</i>	<i>məməe</i>	<i>mujuən</i>
Murut	<i>liər</i>	<i>əbpuk</i>	<i>idcoŋ</i>	<i>nəŋiat</i>	<i>muən</i>	<i>təŋ</i>
Dusun proper	<i>liəw</i>	<i>abuk</i>	<i>aduŋ</i>	<i>bənapas</i>	<i>məncium</i>	<i>ḵabaŋ</i>
Bisayaʔ	<i>liaw</i>	<i>abuḵ</i>	<i>iduŋ</i>	<i>bənapas</i>	<i>məncium</i>	<i>ḵabaŋ</i>
Iban	<i>pəgowʔ</i>	<i>bəʔ</i>	<i>iduəŋ</i>	<i>nəsəpoət</i>	<i>nsiurəm</i>	<i>muluət</i>

	tooth	tongue	to laugh	to cry	vomit	saliva, spittle
MS	gigi	lidah	tertawa	menangis	muntah	ludah
Kedayan	<i>gigiʔ</i>	<i>lidah</i>	<i>tətawaʔ</i>	<i>maŋaŋis</i>	<i>mutah</i>	<i>ludah</i>
Kampung Air	<i>gigiʔ</i>	<i>lidah</i>	<i>tətawaʔ</i>	<i>mənaŋis</i>	<i>mutah</i>	<i>ludah</i>
Brunei Malay	<i>gigiʔ</i>	<i>lidah</i>	<i>tətawaʔ</i>	<i>mənaŋis</i>	<i>mutah</i>	<i>ludah</i>
Tutong	<i>ipən</i>	<i>jəlaʔ</i>	<i>γəsəəŋ</i>	<i>təmaŋis</i>	<i>tajin</i>	<i>baʔulaʔ</i>
Belait	<i>nipan</i>	<i>dəliʔ</i>	<i>ŋəsəəŋ</i>	<i>naŋē</i>	<i>nutaʔ</i>	<i>ñuliʔ</i>
Penan	<i>jipən</i>	<i>jəlaʔ</i>	<i>malaʔ</i>	<i>maŋā</i>	<i>lotā</i>	<i>ñolaʔ</i>
Mukah	<i>ñipən</i>	<i>jəlaʔ</i>	<i>tatawa</i>	<i>mənaŋeh</i>	<i>putaʔ</i>	<i>muput</i>
Murut	<i>lipən</i>	<i>dilaʔ</i>	<i>mədiruh</i>	<i>naŋiʔ</i>	<i>kutaʔ</i>	<i>lijaʔ</i>
Dusun proper	<i>ipən</i>	<i>dilaʔ</i>	<i>giyak</i>	<i>əŋgiəd</i>	<i>ŋgiləm</i>	<i>bəjumpi</i>
Bisayaʔ	<i>ipən</i>	<i>dilaʔ</i>	<i>bəgiyak</i>	<i>giad</i>	<i>giləb</i>	<i>jumpiʔ</i>
Iban	<i>ŋəleyʔ</i>	<i>dilah</i>	<i>kətawaʔ</i>	<i>ñabaʔ</i>	<i>mutah</i>	<i>baʔludah</i>

	to eat	to chew	to cook/to steam	to drink	to bite	to suck
MS	makan	mengunyah/ mamah	memasak/ menanak	minum	menggigit	menghisap
Kedayan	<i>makan</i>	<i>mɛmapak</i>	<i>mɛmasak</i>	<i>minum</i>	<i>mɛŋgigit</i>	<i>mɛŋisap</i>
Kampung Air	<i>makan</i>	<i>məmapak</i>	<i>masak</i>	<i>minum</i>	<i>məŋgigit</i>	<i>məŋisap</i>
Brunei Malay	<i>makan</i>	<i>məmapaʔ</i>	<i>məmasaʔ</i>	<i>minum</i>	<i>məŋgigit</i>	<i>məŋisap</i>
Tutong	<i>mian</i>	<i>ŋaŋaŋaʔ</i>	<i>kəpaʔaʔ</i>	<i>mumbaʔ</i>	<i>ŋiʔit</i>	<i>ŋisiʔ</i>
Belait	<i>kumaən</i>	<i>məŋiʔ</i>	<i>kəsaʔ</i>	<i>məsap</i>	<i>gutəp</i>	<i>ŋigup</i>
Penan	<i>kumān</i>	<i>məŋaʔ</i>	<i>tsuaykaʔan</i>	<i>məcəp</i>	<i>ŋāʔād</i>	<i>ŋigup</i>
Mukah	<i>kəman</i>	<i>məŋuŋay</i>	<i>piʔək</i>	<i>tutəŋ</i>	<i>subut</i>	<i>susəp</i>
Murut	<i>kuman</i>	<i>ŋagat</i>	<i>ŋəlaʔ</i>	<i>ŋirup</i>	<i>ŋətəp</i>	<i>ŋūt</i>
Dusun proper	<i>maʔan</i>	<i>kuŋaʔ</i>	<i>nənək</i>	<i>miup</i>	<i>ŋəkət</i>	<i>bəsigub</i>
Bisayaʔ	<i>makan</i>	<i>ŋapaʔ</i>	<i>gancak</i>	<i>minum</i>	<i>ŋəkət</i>	<i>ŋisəp</i>
Iban	<i>makay</i>	<i>kuŋah</i>	<i>manduəʔ</i>	<i>ŋiruəp</i>	<i>ŋətəp</i>	<i>ŋinsaəp</i>

	ear	to hear	eye	to see	to yawn	to sleep
MS	telinga	mendengar	mata	melihat	menguap	tidur
Kedayan	<i>talɪŋaʔ</i>	<i>mɛndaŋā</i>	<i>mataʔ</i>	<i>mɛlihat</i>	<i>mɛŋuap</i>	<i>tidū</i>
Kampung Air	<i>təliŋaʔ</i>	<i>məndaŋay</i>	<i>mataʔ</i>	<i>məliat</i>	<i>məŋuap</i>	<i>tidoy</i>
Brunei Malay	<i>təliŋaʔ</i>	<i>mənodaŋar</i>	<i>mataʔ</i>	<i>məliat</i>	<i>məŋuap</i>	<i>tidur</i>
Tutong	<i>talɪŋɔʰ</i>	<i>ŋaid</i>	<i>matɔʰ</i>	<i>niʔan</i>	<i>ŋuap</i>	<i>maʔɔl</i>
Belait	<i>təliŋah</i>	<i>kidɪən</i>	<i>matah</i>	<i>məlaʔ</i>	<i>ŋaʔay</i>	<i>məkəl</i>
Penan	<i>kəliŋən</i>	<i>mənəŋ</i>	<i>matən</i>	<i>nāʔād</i>	<i>tewap</i>	<i>pəgəh</i>
Mukah	<i>liŋa</i>	<i>mənaʔah</i>	<i>mata</i>	<i>pəgoy</i>	<i>pəsɪŋap</i>	<i>tudoy</i>
Murut	<i>lalid</i>	<i>niŋər</i>	<i>matəh</i>	<i>niər</i>	<i>ŋoab</i>	<i>rudap</i>
Dusun proper	<i>təliŋɔ</i>	<i>ŋərɔŋɔw</i>	<i>mɔtɔ</i>	<i>ŋintəŋ</i>	<i>əŋkiyɔb</i>	<i>mɔdɔp</i>
Bisayaʔ	<i>təliŋɔh</i>	<i>ŋərɔŋɔw</i>	<i>matɔh</i>	<i>ŋintəŋ</i>	<i>guab</i>	<i>mɔdɔp</i>
Iban	<i>pəndrəŋ</i>	<i>niŋa</i>	<i>mata</i>	<i>mədaʔ</i>	<i>ŋuaəp</i>	<i>tindurəʔ</i>

	to lie down	to dream	to sit	to stand up	person	man/male
MS	berbaring	bermimpi	duduk	berdiri	orang	laki-laki
Kedayan	<i>məlimpaŋ</i>	<i>bəlimpiʔ</i>	<i>duduk/punduk</i>	<i>bədiyiʔ</i>	<i>uaŋ</i>	<i>lakilaki</i>
Kampung Air	<i>məlimpaŋ</i>	<i>bəlimpiʔ</i>	<i>duduk</i>	<i>bədiyiʔ</i>	<i>uyaŋ/jələmaʔ</i>	<i>lakilakiʔ</i>
Brunei Malay	<i>məlimpaŋ</i>	<i>bəlimpiʔ</i>	<i>dudoŋ</i>	<i>bədiriʔ</i>	<i>oraŋ</i>	<i>lakilakiʔ</i>
Tutong	<i>ʔəlimpaŋ</i>	<i>nupih</i>	<i>kunduʔ</i>	<i>midəŋ</i>	<i>uyaŋ</i>	<i>layih</i>
Belait	<i>lumbayʔ</i>	<i>nupay</i>	<i>kəduk</i>	<i>məcaŋ</i>	<i>buləʔn</i>	<i>lai</i>
Penan	<i>ʔobaŋ</i>	<i>nəpin</i>	<i>mənuʔn</i>	<i>nəkədəŋ</i>	<i>irah</i>	<i>lakəyʔ</i>
Mukah	<i>pateaŋ</i>	<i>nupay</i>	<i>kudəʔ</i>	<i>pəkədəŋ</i>	<i>nanawan</i>	<i>alay</i>
Murut	<i>təlubid</i>	<i>nupih</i>	<i>tudəʔ</i>	<i>tupəd</i>	<i>ləmulun</i>	<i>dəley</i>
Dusun proper	<i>balimpaŋ</i>	<i>dupi</i>	<i>kukuʔ</i>	<i>kaŋat</i>	<i>jələmaʔ</i>	<i>mənanay</i>
Bisayaʔ	<i>bəlimpaŋ</i>	<i>ndupiʔ</i>	<i>kukuʔ</i>	<i>kaŋat</i>	<i>jələmaʔ</i>	<i>məyanay</i>
Iban	<i>galeyʔ</i>	<i>bəlimpey</i>	<i>duduʔ</i>	<i>bədirey</i>	<i>uraʔŋ</i>	<i>ləlakey</i>

	woman/female	child	husband	wife	mother	father
MS	perempuan	anak	laki/suami	bini/isteri	ibu	bapak
Kedayan	<i>binibiniʔ</i>	<i>anak</i>	<i>lakiʔ</i>	<i>biniʔ</i>	<i>mamaʔ</i>	<i>bapaʔ</i>
Kampung Air	<i>binibiniʔ</i>	<i>anak</i>	<i>lakiʔ</i>	<i>biniʔ</i>	<i>babuʔ</i>	<i>bapaʔ</i>
Brunei Malay	<i>binibiniʔ</i>	<i>anak</i>	<i>lakiʔ</i>	<i>biniʔ</i>	<i>babuʔ/mamaʔ</i>	<i>bapaʔ</i>
Tutong	<i>tuyis</i>	<i>anaŋ</i>	<i>banəh</i>	<i>awəh</i>	<i>yamaʔ</i>	<i>yapaʔ</i>
Belait	<i>tuyē</i>	<i>anak</i>	<i>banəh</i>	<i>sabah</i>	<i>tinah</i>	<i>tamah</i>
Penan	<i>rədo</i>	<i>anak</i>	<i>do</i>	<i>banən</i>	<i>tinən</i>	<i>tamən</i>
Mukah	<i>amahaw</i>	<i>aneak</i>	<i>sawa</i>	<i>sawa</i>	<i>tina</i>	<i>tama</i>
Murut	<i>dədcu</i>	<i>anak</i>	<i>awan</i>	<i>awan</i>	<i>inaʔ/tinan</i>	<i>yamaʔ</i>
Dusun proper	<i>kimuʔ</i>	<i>anak</i>	<i>əno</i>	<i>səwə</i>	<i>yamaʔ</i>	<i>yapaʔ</i>
Bisayaʔ	<i>kəkimuʔ</i>	<i>anak</i>	<i>anəh</i>	<i>sawəh</i>	<i>induʔ</i>	<i>yamaʔ</i>
Iban	<i>indowʔ</i>	<i>anaʔ</i>	<i>lakey</i>	<i>biney</i>	<i>inday</i>	<i>apay</i>

	house	roof	name	to say	string, cord, rope	to tie
MS	rumah	atap	nama	berkata	tali	mengikat
Kedayan	<i>umah</i>	<i>hatap</i>	<i>nama?</i>	<i>bacakap</i>	<i>tali?</i>	<i>mɔŋikɑt</i>
Kampung Air	<i>yumah</i>	<i>atap</i>	<i>nama?</i>	<i>bəkurapa?</i>	<i>tali?</i>	<i>məŋikɑt</i>
Brunei Malay	<i>rumah</i>	<i>atap</i>	<i>nama?</i>	<i>bacakap</i>	<i>tali?</i>	<i>məŋikɑt</i>
Tutong	<i>lamin</i>	<i>apu^h</i>	<i>ŋadan</i>	<i>bɔbasa?</i>	<i>tali^h</i>	<i>ŋigɔt</i>
Belait	<i>ameʔn</i>	<i>sapaw</i>	<i>adiʔn</i>	<i>pətaʔ?</i>	<i>talay</i>	<i>piɣeʔt</i>
Penan	<i>lamin</i>	<i>tsapaw</i>	<i>ŋaran</i>	<i>paney</i>	<i>taləy?</i>	<i>ŋəjɔrəd</i>
Mukah	<i>ləbɔ?</i>	<i>sapaw</i>	<i>ŋadan</i>	<i>tələbaw</i>	<i>taley</i>	<i>mubət/bibət</i>
Murut	<i>ruma?</i>	<i>apɔ?</i>	<i>ŋadan</i>	<i>pəburi?</i>	<i>abəd</i>	<i>ŋabəd</i>
Dusun proper	<i>alay</i>	<i>tāp</i>	<i>ŋgayan</i>	<i>bətuntut</i>	<i>tali</i>	<i>ŋɔgɔt</i>
Bisaya?	<i>alay</i>	<i>tāp</i>	<i>garan</i>	<i>batuyan</i>	<i>tali?</i>	<i>ŋakut</i>
Iban	<i>rumah</i>	<i>ataʔp</i>	<i>nama</i>	<i>bɔjakɔw?</i>	<i>taley</i>	<i>nancan</i>

	to sew	needle	to hunt	to shoot	to stab	to hit, strike
MS	menjahit	jarum	memburu	menembak	menikam	memukul
Kedayan	<i>mɔŋjahit</i>	<i>jaum</i>	<i>?</i>	<i>mɔɔnimbak</i>	<i>mɔɔnikam</i>	<i>mɔŋampas</i>
Kampung Air	<i>mənjaɪt</i>	<i>jayum</i>	<i>məmbuyu?</i>	<i>mənimbak</i>	<i>mənikam</i>	<i>məŋampas</i>
Brunei Malay	<i>mənjaɪt</i>	<i>jarom</i>	<i>məmburu?</i>	<i>mənimbak</i>	<i>mənikam</i>	<i>məŋampas</i>
Tutong	<i>ɔŋjaɔyɔy^h</i>	<i>taud</i>	<i>ɔŋjəyɔt</i>	<i>nimbaɣ</i>	<i>ŋamuɣ</i>	<i>nubay</i>
Belait	<i>mayoy</i>	<i>taud</i>	<i>?</i>	<i>mədil</i>	<i>mulu</i>	<i>mupɔk</i>
Penan	<i>ŋəripʊt</i>	<i>bəɔnā</i>	<i>pətaʔ</i>	<i>ŋələpāŋ</i>	<i>ŋaləʔŋ</i>	<i>məɔmukʊt</i>
Mukah	<i>mənjaʔit</i>	<i>tajɔh</i>	<i>məŋasow</i>	<i>manimbaɣ</i>	<i>galeaŋ</i>	<i>mupah/pipah</i>
Murut	<i>nərut</i>	<i>pinɔ</i>	<i>ŋanup</i>	<i>madil</i>	<i>nəɔpək</i>	<i>məpəɔ</i>
Dusun proper	<i>əmpikit</i>	<i>jayum</i>	<i>ŋasu</i>	<i>nimbaɣ</i>	<i>nɔkɔn</i>	<i>maŋkoy</i>
Bisaya?	<i>mikit</i>	<i>jayum</i>	<i>?</i>	<i>nimbak</i>	<i>nɔbɔk</i>	<i>ŋələpɔd</i>
Iban	<i>ŋait</i>	<i>jarum</i>	<i>ŋasɔw</i>	<i>nemba?</i>	<i>nikam</i>	<i>malɔw?</i>

	to steal	to kill	to die, dead	to live, alive	to scratch	to chop, to cut
MS	mencuri	membunuh	mati	hidup	menggaruk	menetak
Kedayan	<i>mancuwi?</i>	<i>mambunuh</i>	<i>mati?</i>	<i>hidup</i>	<i>mangukut</i>	<i>mānatak</i>
Kampung Air	<i>māncuwi?</i>	<i>māmbunuh</i>	<i>mati?</i>	<i>idup</i>	<i>māngaru?</i>	<i>mānatak</i>
Brunei Malay	<i>māncuri?</i>	<i>māmbunuh</i>	<i>mati?</i>	<i>idup</i>	<i>māngaru?</i>	<i>mānatak</i>
Tutong	<i>nau^h</i>	<i>ambunu?</i>	<i>mati^h</i>	<i>mulun</i>	<i>angayu^h</i>	<i>nətək</i>
Belait	<i>mānau</i>	<i>katay</i>	<i>matay</i>	<i>muləⁿ</i>	<i>mayiow</i>	<i>muyə^əək</i>
Penan	<i>nəkaw</i>	<i>məmatay</i>	<i>matay</i>	<i>murip</i>	<i>ḡərep</i>	<i>mətək</i>
Mukah	<i>mānikaw</i>	<i>məmbunə?</i>	<i>matay</i>	<i>tudip</i>	<i>māḡgahut</i>	<i>supət</i>
Murut	<i>mənə^ə</i>	<i>ḡate^ə</i>	<i>mate^ə</i>	<i>mulun</i>	<i>ḡarə^ə</i>	<i>nətək</i>
Dusun proper	<i>ndakaw</i>	<i>məmatay</i>	<i>matay</i>	<i>iyaw</i>	<i>ḡayut</i>	<i>nətək</i>
Bisaya?	<i>nakaw</i>	<i>məmatay</i>	<i>matay</i>	<i>iyaw</i>	<i>ḡukut</i>	<i>nibas</i>
Iban	<i>ncurey</i>	<i>munu^əh</i>	<i>mati/paray</i>	<i>idu^əp</i>	<i>ḡarəw?</i>	<i>nəta?</i>

	wood	to split	sharp	dull, blunt	to work	to plant
MS	kayu	membelah	tajam	tumpul	bekerja	menanam
Kedayan	<i>kayu?</i>	<i>māmbalah</i>	<i>tajam</i>	<i>tumpul</i>	<i>baləkaja?</i>	<i>mānanam</i>
Kampung Air	<i>kayu?</i>	<i>māmbalah</i>	<i>tajam</i>	<i>tumpul</i>	<i>bəkaraja?</i>	<i>mānanam</i>
Brunei Malay	<i>kayu?</i>	<i>mānampik</i>	<i>tajam</i>	<i>tumpul</i>	<i>bəkəraja?</i>	<i>mānanam</i>
Tutong	<i>ḡayu^h</i>	<i>nəpi?</i>	<i>təḡon</i>	<i>tumpul</i>	<i>kəḡjə^h</i>	<i>mulə^h</i>
Belait	<i>kajeow</i>	<i>tupay?</i>	<i>səyad</i>	<i>kədəl</i>	<i>kayəjeh</i>	<i>mulah</i>
Penan	<i>kayəw?</i>	<i>məməla?</i>	<i>nāhīd</i>	<i>kajən</i>	<i>kələjeh</i>	<i>molah</i>
Mukah	<i>kayow</i>	<i>mubah</i>	<i>mañit</i>	<i>məñəl</i>	<i>bəkəyja</i>	<i>pimun</i>
Murut	<i>kayuh</i>	<i>ḡupa</i>	<i>mətadəm</i>	<i>məḡadəl</i>	<i>kərəja?</i>	<i>ḡibu</i>
Dusun proper	<i>kayu</i>	<i>mila?</i>	<i>təyəm</i>	<i>?</i>	<i>kəyəcjə</i>	<i>nənəm</i>
Bisaya?	<i>kayuh</i>	<i>mila?</i>	<i>tayəm</i>	<i>ḡələl</i>	<i>bəkəja?</i>	<i>nənəm</i>
Iban	<i>kayəw?</i>	<i>mələh</i>	<i>taja^əm</i>	<i>tumpu^əl</i>	<i>baləkəja</i>	<i>nana^əm</i>

	to choose, sort	to grow	swollen	to squeeze	to hold	to dig
MS	memilih	tumbuh	bengkak	memerah	memegang	menggali
Kedayan	<i>mamilih</i>	<i>tumbuh</i>	<i>bagkak</i>	<i>mamāh</i>	<i>mamigan</i>	<i>mangali?</i>
Kampung Air	<i>mamilih</i>	<i>tumboh</i>	<i>bagkak</i>	<i>mamayah</i>	<i>mamigan</i>	<i>mangali?</i>
Brunei Malay	<i>mamilih</i>	<i>tumbuh</i>	<i>bagkak</i>	<i>mamarah</i>	<i>mamigan</i>	<i>mangali?</i>
Tutong	<i>mili?</i>	<i>bukut</i>	<i>bəŋkək</i>	<i>məya?</i>	<i>imbit</i>	<i>ŋakay^h</i>
Belait	<i>mamilay?</i>	<i>mukət</i>	<i>payi?</i>	<i>məpah</i>	<i>pitiən</i>	<i>məkay</i>
Penan	<i>ŋəwələ?</i>	<i>murip</i>	<i>baha?</i>	<i>məməjəŋ</i>	<i>ŋamit</i>	<i>ŋaləy?</i>
Mukah	<i>məmile?</i>	<i>tubə?</i>	<i>kambəŋ</i>	<i>pəyah</i>	<i>mənanan</i>	<i>kukat</i>
Murut	<i>mili?</i>	<i>mulun</i>	<i>məbara?</i>	<i>mān</i>	<i>ŋimət</i>	<i>ŋukat</i>
Dusun proper	<i>mili?</i>	<i>iyaw</i>	<i>kənambaŋ</i>	<i>maga?</i>	<i>niŋəm</i>	<i>ŋali</i>
Bisaya?	<i>mili?</i>	<i>səmunih</i>	<i>bəŋkək</i>	<i>maga?</i>	<i>ŋgayi?/niŋəm</i>	<i>ŋali</i>
Iban	<i>miliəh</i>	<i>tumbuəh</i>	<i>bəŋka?</i>	<i>gəmpuə?</i>	<i>məgay</i>	<i>ŋaləy</i>

	to buy	to open	to pound, crush	to throw	to fall	dog
MS	membeli	membuka	menumbuk	melempar	jatuh	anjing
Kedayan	<i>mambali?</i>	<i>mambuka?</i>	<i>mānutuk</i>	<i>māŋumban</i>	<i>gugū</i>	<i>kuyuk</i>
Kampung Air	<i>mambali?</i>	<i>mambuka?</i>	<i>mānutuk</i>	<i>məumban</i>	<i>gugoy</i>	<i>kuyok</i>
Brunei Malay	<i>mambali?</i>	<i>mambuka?</i>	<i>mānutok</i>	<i>məŋumban</i>	<i>gugur</i>	<i>kuyok</i>
Tutong	<i>məli^h</i>	<i>ambuka?</i>	<i>nupə^h</i>	<i>ambaleəŋ</i>	<i>jatu?</i>	<i>awu^h</i>
Belait	<i>məley</i>	<i>muka?</i>	<i>tupah</i>	<i>maluəŋ</i>	<i>manday?</i>	<i>asaw</i>
Penan	<i>məlih</i>	<i>moka</i>	<i>nogan</i>	<i>ŋaleəŋ</i>	<i>pələhə</i>	<i>atsow?</i>
Mukah	<i>məmbəley</i>	<i>məkəŋ</i>	<i>tutuək</i>	<i>galeaŋ</i>	<i>bələbə?</i>	<i>asow</i>
Murut	<i>məlih</i>	<i>ŋukab</i>	<i>tupəh</i>	<i>məpət</i>	<i>təbpəh</i>	<i>uko?</i>
Dusun proper	<i>mali</i>	<i>muka?</i>	<i>nutuk</i>	<i>ŋada?</i>	<i>nəyatu?</i>	<i>asu</i>
Bisaya?	<i>malih</i>	<i>muka?</i>	<i>nutuk</i>	<i>nəmpaluŋ</i>	<i>yatu?</i>	<i>asuh</i>
Iban	<i>məley</i>	<i>muka?</i>	<i>nutuək</i>	<i>nikaw</i>	<i>labuəh</i>	<i>uduə?/ukuəy</i>

	bird	egg	feather, fur	wing	to fly	mouse, rat
MS	burung	telur	bulu	sayap	terbang	tikus
Kedayan	<i>būŋ</i>	<i>talū</i>	<i>bulu?</i>	<i>sayap</i>	<i>tabaŋ</i>	<i>tikus</i>
Kampung Air	<i>buyuŋ</i>	<i>taloy</i>	<i>bulu?</i>	<i>sayap</i>	<i>trabaŋ</i>	<i>tikus</i>
Brunei Malay	<i>buroŋ</i>	<i>talur</i>	<i>bulu?</i>	<i>sayap</i>	<i>təraabaŋ</i>	<i>tikus</i>
Tutong	<i>manuŋ</i>	<i>tiyu?</i>	<i>buluh</i>	<i>lad</i>	<i>təmulud</i>	<i>bəlabu^h</i>
Belait	<i>manək</i>	<i>təjeow?</i>	<i>buleow</i>	<i>bəyabih</i>	<i>tulɔ^d</i>	<i>bəlabəow</i>
Penan	<i>juhid</i>	<i>elɔ</i>	<i>bolɔⁿ</i>	<i>pawit</i>	<i>marəŋ</i>	<i>motseŋ</i>
Mukah	<i>manu^əŋ</i>	<i>təlɔh</i>	<i>bulow</i>	<i>pəeəŋ</i>	<i>pəsili^əŋ</i>	<i>umut</i>
Murut	<i>suwit</i>	<i>tərur</i>	<i>bulu?</i>	<i>ilad</i>	<i>təmulud</i>	<i>labɔ</i>
Dusun proper	<i>ləgɔwɔw</i>	<i>əmpuni?</i>	<i>bulu</i>	<i>alad</i>	<i>təmulud</i>	<i>ləwɔw</i>
Bisaya?	<i>məmanuk</i>	<i>əmpuni?</i>	<i>buluh</i>	<i>alad</i>	<i>təmulud</i>	<i>tikus</i>
Iban	<i>buru^əŋ</i>	<i>təlɔw?</i>	<i>bulɔw</i>	<i>sayap</i>	<i>tərbay</i>	<i>ci^ət</i>

	meat, flesh	fat, grease	tail	snake	caterpillar/worm	louse, flea
MS	daging	lemak	ekor	ular	ulat/cacing	kutu
Kedayan	<i>dagin</i>	<i>lamak</i>	<i>ikuŋ</i>	<i>ulā</i>	<i>giyuk</i>	<i>kutu?</i>
Kampung Air	<i>dagin</i>	<i>lamak</i>	<i>ikɔŋ</i>	<i>ulay</i>	<i>ulat</i>	<i>kutu?</i>
Brunei Malay	<i>dagin</i>	<i>lamak</i>	<i>ikɔŋ</i>	<i>ular</i>	<i>giyok</i>	<i>kutu?</i>
Tutong	<i>dage^əŋ</i>	<i>ləmu^h</i>	<i>iyu?</i>	<i>nipɔ^h</i>	<i>ulɔd</i>	<i>gutuh</i>
Belait	<i>dageŋ</i>	<i>ləmaw</i>	<i>jeow?</i>	<i>nipah</i>	<i>lukɔ^əŋ</i>	<i>guteow</i>
Penan	<i>dagin</i>	<i>ŋa?</i>	<i>ekɔ</i>	<i>tɔɔk</i>	<i>uləd</i>	<i>gotow?</i>
Mukah	<i>dagi^əŋ</i>	<i>məŋeak</i>	<i>ikoy</i>	<i>dipā</i>	<i>ulət</i>	<i>kutow</i>
Murut	<i>uaŋ</i>	<i>ləmək</i>	<i>yur</i>	<i>mənipəh</i>	<i>uləd</i>	<i>kutuh</i>
Dusun proper	<i>dagin</i>	<i>lunək</i>	<i>ikeow</i>	<i>lanut</i>	<i>giyu?</i>	<i>gutuh</i>
Bisaya?	<i>dagin</i>	<i>lunək</i>	<i>ikeow</i>	<i>lanut</i>	<i>giyuk</i>	<i>kutu?</i>
Iban	<i>dagi^ən</i>	<i>ləmak</i>	<i>ekɔw?</i>	<i>ular</i>	<i>ulat</i>	<i>kutɔw</i>

	mosquito	spider	fish	rotten	(tree) branch	leaf
MS	nyamuk	laba-laba	ikan	busuk	dahan	daun
Kedayan	<i>aŋit</i>	<i>mangamanga?</i>	<i>lauk</i>	<i>bɔbau?</i>	<i>dahan</i>	<i>daun</i>
Kampung Air	<i>raŋit</i>	<i>mangamanga?</i>	<i>lauk</i>	<i>bəbau?</i>	<i>dahan</i>	<i>daun</i>
Brunei Malay	<i>raŋit</i>	<i>mangamanga?</i>	<i>lauk</i>	<i>burok</i>	<i>dahan</i>	<i>daun</i>
Tutong	<i>kɔɣias</i>	<i>kɔplawa?</i>	<i>puta?</i>	<i>buyuɕ</i>	<i>daʔan</i>	<i>daʔun</i>
Belait	<i>nak</i>	<i>kalaba?</i>	<i>puta?</i>	<i>biyow</i>	<i>diʔiʔn</i>	<i>daʔoʔn</i>
Penan	<i>ŋamuk</i>	<i>ləbah</i>	<i>salowaŋ</i>	<i>bɔbɔɔk</i>	<i>daʔan</i>	<i>daun</i>
Mukah	<i>kiayh</i>	<i>labalaba</i>	<i>jəkan</i>	<i>buɾuʔk</i>	<i>daʔan</i>	<i>daʔun</i>
Murut	<i>tukuŋ</i>	<i>kəlawə?</i>	<i>lawid</i>	<i>məbuʔn</i>	<i>aŋat</i>	<i>daun</i>
Dusun proper	<i>ɕaliyas</i>	<i>ɕələmaŋ</i>	<i>sada?</i>	<i>mutɔŋ</i>	<i>yan</i>	<i>yaun</i>
Bisaya?	<i>kaliyas</i>	<i>kələmaŋ</i>	<i>sada?</i>	<i>mutɔŋ</i>	<i>yān</i>	<i>daun</i>
Iban	<i>ŋamuʔk</i>	<i>mplawa?</i>	<i>ikan</i>	<i>buət</i>	<i>dān</i>	<i>daun</i>

	root	flower	fruit	grass	soil	stone
MS	akar	bunga	buah	rumput	tanah	batu
Kedayan	<i>akā</i>	<i>buŋa?</i>	<i>buah</i>	<i>umput</i>	<i>tanah</i>	<i>batu?</i>
Kampung Air	<i>akay</i>	<i>buŋa?</i>	<i>buah</i>	<i>yumput</i>	<i>tanah</i>	<i>batu?</i>
Brunei Malay	<i>akar</i>	<i>buŋa?</i>	<i>buah</i>	<i>rumput</i>	<i>tanah</i>	<i>batu?</i>
Tutong	<i>yamut</i>	<i>buŋa^h</i>	<i>bua?</i>	<i>yumput</i>	<i>tana?</i>	<i>batu^h</i>
Belait	<i>yamɔt</i>	<i>buyak</i>	<i>uŋɔʔn</i>	<i>umah</i>	<i>tana?</i>	<i>bateow</i>
Penan	<i>laka</i>	<i>buŋa?</i>	<i>boa?</i>	<i>orow?</i>	<i>tana?</i>	<i>batow?</i>
Mukah	<i>akah</i>	<i>buŋā</i>	<i>bua?</i>	<i>yumput</i>	<i>tana?</i>	<i>batow</i>
Murut	<i>uat</i>	<i>busaɕ</i>	<i>bua?</i>	<i>uduh</i>	<i>tana?</i>	<i>batuh</i>
Dusun proper	<i>amut</i>	<i>usaɕ</i>	<i>bua?</i>	<i>kumpaw</i>	<i>tana?</i>	<i>batu</i>
Bisaya?	<i>amut</i>	<i>usaɕ</i>	<i>bua?</i>	<i>kəsakɔt</i>	<i>tana?</i>	<i>batuh</i>
Iban	<i>uraʔt</i>	<i>buŋay</i>	<i>buah</i>	<i>rumpuʔt</i>	<i>tanah</i>	<i>batow</i>

	sand	water	to flow	sea	salt	lake
MS	<i>pasir</i>	<i>air</i>	<i>mengalir</i>	<i>laut</i>	<i>garam</i>	<i>danau</i>
Kedayan	<i>pasī</i>	<i>aiŋ</i>	<i>mahilī</i>	<i>laut</i>	<i>siyaʔ</i>	<i>tasik</i>
Kampung Air	<i>pasē</i>	<i>aiŋ</i>	<i>mailir</i>	<i>laut</i>	<i>siraʔ</i>	<i>tasik</i>
Brunei Malay	<i>pasir</i>	<i>aiŋ</i>	<i>məŋilir</i>	<i>laut</i>	<i>siraʔ</i>	<i>ʔ</i>
Tutong	<i>ʔit</i>	<i>əpaʔ</i>	<i>ŋaley</i>	<i>laud</i>	<i>usɔn</i>	<i>taseək</i>
Belait	<i>ʔit</i>	<i>siʔ</i>	<i>mələŋah</i>	<i>dileyʔ</i>	<i>uwayʔ</i>	<i>sasi(ə)k</i>
Penan	<i>napun</i>	<i>bā</i>	<i>matɔŋ</i>	<i>baŋət</i>	<i>usən</i>	<i>bawaŋ</i>
Mukah	<i>nay</i>	<i>ŋaʔəm</i>	<i>ŋaʔambah</i>	<i>alut</i>	<i>siā</i>	<i>danaw</i>
Murut	<i>bada</i>	<i>əbpaʔ</i>	<i>manud</i>	<i>əbpaʔrayah</i>	<i>tudcuʔ</i>	<i>tagkuŋ</i>
Dusun proper	<i>pasey</i>	<i>aig</i>	<i>nulus</i>	<i>laut</i>	<i>usɔn</i>	<i>tasik</i>
Bisayaʔ	<i>pasiy</i>	<i>laig</i>	<i>ʔ</i>	<i>laut</i>	<i>usɔn</i>	<i>tasik</i>
Iban	<i>pasir</i>	<i>aiʔ</i>	<i>añuət</i>	<i>tasiʔʔ</i>	<i>garaəm</i>	<i>lugaən</i>

	forest	sky	moon	star	cloud	fog, mist
MS	<i>hutan</i>	<i>langit</i>	<i>bulan</i>	<i>bintang</i>	<i>awan</i>	<i>kabut</i>
Kedayan	<i>hutan</i>	<i>laŋit</i>	<i>bulan</i>	<i>bintaŋ</i>	<i>awan</i>	<i>ambun</i>
Kampung Air	<i>utan</i>	<i>laŋit</i>	<i>bulan</i>	<i>bintaŋ</i>	<i>awan</i>	<i>ambun</i>
Brunei Malay	<i>utan</i>	<i>laŋit</i>	<i>bulan</i>	<i>bintaŋ</i>	<i>awan</i>	<i>kabut</i>
Tutong	<i>talun</i>	<i>laŋit</i>	<i>bulan</i>	<i>bintaŋ</i>	<i>awan</i>	<i>ambun</i>
Belait	<i>məyan</i>	<i>laŋit</i>	<i>buliən</i>	<i>pataək</i>	<i>awaən</i>	<i>mayabeow</i>
Penan	<i>ləmā</i>	<i>laŋit</i>	<i>laseh</i>	<i>kəñohay</i>	<i>awun</i>	<i>awawawaw</i>
Mukah	<i>gūn</i>	<i>laŋit</i>	<i>bulan</i>	<i>binteŋ</i>	<i>awan</i>	<i>əmbuən</i>
Murut	<i>puluŋ</i>	<i>laŋit</i>	<i>bulan</i>	<i>gituwən</i>	<i>laput</i>	<i>məlaput</i>
Dusun proper	<i>əntalun</i>	<i>laŋit</i>	<i>bulan</i>	<i>bintaŋ</i>	<i>awan</i>	<i>ambun</i>
Bisayaʔ	<i>əntalun</i>	<i>adaw</i>	<i>bulan</i>	<i>bintaŋ</i>	<i>awan</i>	<i>ambun</i>
Iban	<i>babaəs</i>	<i>laŋit</i>	<i>bulan</i>	<i>bintaŋ</i>	<i>rəmaŋ</i>	<i>ʔ</i>

	rain	thunder	lightning	wind	to blow	hot
MS	hujan	guntur	kilat	angin	bertiup	panas
Kedayan	<i>hujan</i>	<i>gūh</i>	<i>kilat</i>	<i>aŋin</i>	<i>bɔtiup</i>	<i>haŋat</i>
Kampung Air	<i>ujan</i>	<i>guroh</i>	<i>kilat</i>	<i>aŋin</i>	<i>bətiup</i>	<i>aŋat</i>
Brunei Malay	<i>ujan</i>	<i>guroh</i>	<i>kilat</i>	<i>aŋin</i>	<i>bətiup</i>	<i>panas</i>
Tutong	<i>ujan</i>	<i>gəyoŋ</i>	<i>liʔat</i>	<i>bayoy^h</i>	<i>ʌmbəpɔy</i>	<i>lauʔ</i>
Belait	<i>pəyaʔ</i>	<i>gəyoʔŋ</i>	<i>dipeh</i>	<i>bayoy</i>	<i>məyoʔn</i>	<i>ləsawʔ</i>
Penan	<i>tā</i>	<i>ŋələdɔ</i>	<i>kələʔap</i>	<i>kəpow</i>	<i>ŋələwow</i>	<i>panā</i>
Mukah	<i>ujan</i>	<i>dudɔh</i>	<i>kakəlat</i>	<i>paŋay</i>	<i>məŋgaub</i>	<i>lasuʔ</i>
Murut	<i>mudan</i>	<i>lalam</i>	<i>ganit</i>	<i>boy</i>	<i>ŋiup</i>	<i>məlauʔ</i>
Dusun proper	<i>yasam</i>	<i>guntɔw</i>	<i>ləmāt</i>	<i>lɔŋɔs</i>	<i>nigiʔ</i>	<i>lasu</i>
Bisayaʔ	<i>ʎasam</i>	<i>guyuh</i>	<i>laganit</i>	<i>lɔŋɔs</i>	<i>nigiʔ</i>	<i>lasuʔ</i>
Iban	<i>ujan</i>	<i>guntuər</i>	<i>kilat</i>	<i>ribuət</i>	<i>bətiuəp</i>	<i>aŋaət</i>

	cold	dry	wet	heavy	fire	to burn, set fire
MS	dingin	kering	basah	berat	api	membakar
Kedayan	<i>sajuk</i>	<i>kayin</i>	<i>basah</i>	<i>bāt</i>	<i>apiʔ</i>	<i>manunuʔ</i>
Kampung Air	<i>sajuk</i>	<i>kaiŋ</i>	<i>basah</i>	<i>bayat</i>	<i>apiʔ</i>	<i>mənunuʔ</i>
Brunei Malay	<i>sajok</i>	<i>kariŋ</i>	<i>basah</i>	<i>barat</i>	<i>apiʔ</i>	<i>mənunuʔ</i>
Tutong	<i>səjuʔ</i>	<i>kulaʔ</i>	<i>baʔ</i>	<i>bəyat</i>	<i>apoy^h</i>	<i>mayɔh</i>
Belait	<i>sərəsay</i>	<i>maya</i>	<i>bieʔ</i>	<i>bəyit</i>	<i>sāb</i>	<i>mayah</i>
Penan	<i>darəm</i>	<i>mətəyʔ</i>	<i>batsaʔ</i>	<i>bahat</i>	<i>lotən</i>	<i>pə</i>
Mukah	<i>siŋuah</i>	<i>uweaŋ</i>	<i>basaʔ</i>	<i>bāt</i>	<i>apoy</i>	<i>məjah</i>
Murut	<i>mətənəb</i>	<i>məkəkət</i>	<i>məba</i>	<i>məbrat</i>	<i>apoy</i>	<i>ŋəsəb</i>
Dusun proper	<i>sagit</i>	<i>kayin</i>	<i>nasaʔ</i>	<i>magat</i>	<i>apɔy</i>	<i>nunu</i>
Bisayaʔ	<i>sagit</i>	<i>kalaʔ</i>	<i>masaʔ</i>	<i>magat</i>	<i>apuy</i>	<i>nunu</i>
Iban	<i>cəlaəp</i>	<i>raŋkay</i>	<i>basah</i>	<i>berat</i>	<i>apey</i>	<i>nunɔw</i>

	smoke	ash	black	white	red	yellow
MS	asap	abu	hitam	putih	merah	kuning
Kedayan	asap	habu?	hitam	putih	miyah	kuniŋ
Kampung Air	asap	abu?	itam	putih	miah	kuniŋ
Brunei Malay	asap	abu?	itam	putih	mirah	kuniŋ
Tutong	puwət	abuh	itəm	puti?	maʔaŋ	kuneʔŋ
Belait	təbeh	abeow	mətam	putay?	maʔaŋ	kuneŋ
Penan	tsap	laʔaŋ	padəŋ	məbəŋ	balā	lətē
Mukah	tuguʔn	dabow	biləm	apu?	sea?	kuniʔŋ
Murut	rəbpun	abuh	mitəm	məbuda?	məsia?	məbirar
Dusun proper	lisun	abu	itəm	puyak	ɣagaŋ	kuniŋ
Bisaya?	lisun	awoh	itəm	puyak	ɣagaŋ	kuniŋ
Iban	asap	abow	cəluʔm	bora?	merah	koneʔŋ

	green	small	big	short	long	thin
MS	hijau	kecil	besar	pendek	panjang	tipis
Kedayan	hijaw	damit	basā	buntak	panjaŋ	nipis
Kampung Air	gadun	damit	basay	buntak	panjaŋ	nipis
Brunei Malay	gadoŋ	damit	basar	buntaŋ	panjaŋ	nipis
Tutong	gadoŋ	diʔeʔk	ɣaya?	buntək	buat	nipis
Belait	ijaw	ti?	ɣəjeh	dəbi?	bit	ləpə
Penan	maruŋ	tsiʔik	jaʔaw	tsuti?	kəbit	nəpē
Mukah	gadoʔŋ	ume?	ñat	adē?	alow	lipih
Murut	məbata?	sut/sud	rayəh	məkəmu?	məkadaŋ	məlipi
Dusun proper	ijaw/gadun	diək	gəyɔ	yiba?	awad	nipis
Bisaya?	biyu?	diək	gayoh	iba?	awad	nipis
Iban	gadoʔŋ	meʔt	bəsay	panda?	panjay	nipiʔs

	thick	narrow	large, broad	ill, sick	shy	old
MS	tebal	sempit	lebar	sakit	malu	tua
Kedayan	<i>tabal</i>	<i>sampit</i>	<i>libā</i>	<i>sakit</i>	<i>hawā</i>	<i>tuha?</i>
Kampung Air	<i>tabal</i>	<i>sampit</i>	<i>libar</i>	<i>sakit</i>	<i>supan</i>	<i>tua?</i>
Brunei Malay	<i>tabal</i>	<i>sampit</i>	<i>lungar</i>	<i>sakit</i>	<i>malu?</i>	<i>tua?</i>
Tutong	<i>kapal</i>	<i>siot</i>	<i>libar</i>	<i>sait</i>	<i>masən</i>	<i>tua?</i>
Belait	<i>kapal</i>	<i>sapet</i>	?	<i>sait</i>	<i>məsan</i>	<i>yəban</i>
Penan	<i>kanan</i>	?	?	<i>tsakit</i>	<i>məñā</i>	<i>mukun</i>
Mukah	<i>kanan</i>	?	<i>liba</i>	<i>pədeh</i>	<i>mia?</i>	<i>alakey</i>
Murut	<i>kapal</i>	<i>məpəri?</i>	?	<i>mait</i>	<i>migu?</i>	<i>məŋərəd</i>
Dusun proper	<i>tabal</i>	<i>sampit</i>	?	<i>sənakit</i>	<i>malu</i>	<i>tuə</i>
Bisaya?	<i>kapal</i>	<i>səlot</i>	?	<i>sakit</i>	<i>mikum</i>	<i>tuəh</i>
Iban	<i>təbal</i>	<i>səmpit</i>	?	<i>sakit</i>	<i>malow</i>	<i>tuay</i>

	new	good	bad, wicked	right, true	night	day
MS	baru	baik	jahat	benar	malam	hari
Kedayan	<i>bahaw</i>	<i>baik</i>	<i>jahat</i>	<i>banā</i>	<i>malam</i>	<i>hayi?</i>
Kampung Air	<i>bayu?</i>	<i>baik</i>	<i>jahat</i>	<i>banay</i>	<i>malam</i>	<i>ari?</i>
Brunei Malay	<i>baru?</i>	<i>baik</i>	<i>jahat</i>	<i>banar</i>	<i>malam</i>	<i>ari?</i>
Tutong	<i>bayu^h</i>	<i>jia?</i>	<i>ju?ət</i>	<i>bəncəy</i>	<i>ləma?</i>	<i>alu^h</i>
Belait	<i>bayəw</i>	<i>ji?</i>	<i>sa?at</i>	<i>tunə</i>	<i>ləm</i>	<i>andaow</i>
Penan	<i>marəŋ</i>	<i>jian</i>	<i>tsa?at</i>	<i>mo?un</i>	<i>mərəm</i>	<i>daw</i>
Mukah	<i>ba?ow</i>	<i>dia?</i>	<i>ja?at</i>	<i>tu?u</i>	<i>maləm</i>	<i>law</i>
Murut	<i>məbəruh</i>	<i>də?</i>	<i>dāt</i>	<i>tuotuo</i>	<i>maləm</i>	<i>ədco?</i>
Dusun proper	<i>agu</i>	<i>məncəy</i>	<i>yāt</i>	<i>bəncəy</i>	<i>əntuwəŋ</i>	<i>adaw</i>
Bisaya?	<i>aguh</i>	<i>məncəy</i>	<i>yāt</i>	<i>bəncəy</i>	<i>mantuwəŋ</i>	<i>adaw</i>
Iban	<i>barow</i>	<i>manah</i>	<i>jai?</i>	<i>ama?t</i>	<i>mala?m</i>	<i>arey</i>

	year	when	to hide	to ride, to go up	in, at	inside
MS	tahun	bila	bersembunyi	naik	di	di(dalam)
Kedayan	tahun	bila?	bətapuk	naik	di	dalam
Kampung Air	taun	babila?	bətapuk	naik	di	dalam
Brunei Malay	taun	pabila?	bətapok	naik	di	dalam
Tutong	taʔun	kudɔh	tasusu?	ʔamuad	gah	dalɔm
Belait	taʔoʔn	bilah	kəɔɔŋuŋey	mənād	ley	alɛəm
Penan	taun	hunmah	kahut	takət	təŋ	ləm
Mukah	taʔuʔn	paya	pəlim	baway	?	ubeaŋ
Murut	lak	idan	sigapuŋ	umaŋ	dɛy?	daləm
Dusun proper	taun	əmbuyɔ?	əncusut	nəkɔd	mək	salalɔm
Bisaya?	taun	kəmbuyɔ?	əncusut	nakɔd	?	səlɔlɔm
Iban	tauʔn	kəmaya	bəlalay	nikey?	di	dalam

	above	below	this	that	near, close by	far
MS	(di)atas	(di)bawah	ini	itu	dekat	jauh
Kedayan	atas	bawah	ani?	atu?	hampī	jauh
Kampung Air	atas	bawah	ani?	atu?	ampir	jauh
Brunei Malay	atas	bawah	ani?	atu?	ampir	jauh
Tutong	təŋɔd	ləpu?	ituʰ	ina?	jani?	jau?
Belait	ujuŋ	səw	iteh	ieh	səmi?	jau?
Penan	bāw	ra?	itɔw?	itay	dani	jow?
Mukah	bāw	diba?	itow	?	səga?	jau?
Murut	dita?	bənəh	inih	inəh	munəŋ	madɔʔ
Dusun proper	sawat	səyiba?	ti	yɔɔɔ	sɔmɔk	sadu
Bisaya?	sawat	səyiba?	itih	inɔh	sɔmɔk	sadu?
Iban	atas	baruʔh	tɔw?	ñā?	səma?	jauʔh

	where	I	you (SG)	he (she)	we (INC/EXCL)	you (SG)
MS	<i>dimana</i>	<i>saya, aku</i>	<i>engkau</i>	<i>ia, dia</i>	<i>kita/kami</i>	<i>kamu</i>
Kedayan	<i>dimana?</i>	<i>aku?</i>	<i>kaw, kita?</i>	<i>ia?</i>	<i>kitani?/kami?</i>	<i>kamu?</i>
Kampung Air	<i>dimana?</i>	<i>kadiaku?</i>	<i>kadikaw/kadikita?</i>	<i>kadidiya?</i>	<i>kətani?/kadikami?</i>	<i>kamu?</i>
Brunei Malay	<i>dimana?</i>	<i>kadiaku?</i>	<i>kadikaw/kadikita?</i>	<i>kadidiya?</i>	<i>kətani?/kadikami?</i>	<i>kamu?</i>
Tutong	<i>gadəmbə^h</i>	<i>jai?</i>	<i>jiu?</i>	<i>iyə^h</i>	<i>kita?/jami?</i>	<i>jimu?</i>
Belait	<i>ləmbah</i>	<i>kaw</i>	<i>uñəw</i>	<i>ñəh</i>	<i>kitah/kamay</i>	<i>?</i>
Penan	<i>tsəmah</i>	<i>akow?</i>	<i>ka?aw</i>	<i>iah</i>	<i>uləw?/kawah</i>	<i>ka?ah</i>
Mukah	<i>ga?gahan</i>	<i>aʔow</i>	<i>ka?aw</i>	<i>?</i>	<i>məlow</i>	<i>kəlow</i>
Murut	<i>dəy?apəh</i>	<i>uwih</i>	<i>ikəʔ</i>	<i>iəh</i>	<i>tau/kei</i>	<i>muyuh</i>
Dusun proper	<i>məʔdəmbə</i>	<i>kuji?</i>	<i>ikow</i>	<i>iyə</i>	<i>jati?/jami?</i>	<i>muyun</i>
Bisaya?	<i>pədəmbəh</i>	<i>aku?</i>	<i>ikaw</i>	<i>iyəh</i>	<i>jati?/jami?</i>	<i>muyun</i>
Iban	<i>diney</i>	<i>akow</i>	<i>nuan</i>	<i>iya</i>	<i>kitay/kami</i>	<i>kita?</i>

	they	what	who	other, different	all	and
MS	<i>mereka</i>	<i>apa</i>	<i>siapa</i>	<i>lain</i>	<i>semua</i>	<i>dan</i>
Kedayan	<i>basiya?</i>	<i>apa?</i>	<i>siapa?</i>	<i>lain</i>	<i>səlua?</i>	<i>dan</i>
Kampung Air	<i>diuraŋ</i>	<i>apa?</i>	<i>siapa?</i>	<i>lain</i>	<i>səmoamoa?</i>	<i>sama?</i>
Brunei Malay	<i>bisdia?</i>	<i>apa?</i>	<i>siapa?</i>	<i>lain</i>	<i>səmoa?</i>	<i>dan</i>
Tutong	<i>idə^h</i>	<i>nuwi^h</i>	<i>inai^h</i>	<i>lain</i>	<i>katabi?</i>	<i>dəŋan</i>
Belait	<i>ləw</i>	<i>əmbay</i>	<i>hai</i>	<i>lain</i>	<i>kətabey?</i>	<i>ŋan</i>
Penan	<i>irah</i>	<i>enəw</i>	<i>tsē</i>	<i>ejah</i>	<i>tsəlua?</i>	<i>?</i>
Mukah	<i>ida?</i>	<i>inaw</i>	<i>sayən</i>	<i>ake?</i>	<i>minmin</i>	<i>?</i>
Murut	<i>idəh</i>	<i>anun</i>	<i>idə</i>	<i>məbəgkan</i>	<i>muŋmuŋ</i>	<i>dəŋan</i>
Dusun proper	<i>səyə</i>	<i>unə</i>	<i>isəy</i>	<i>lain</i>	<i>saŋai?</i>	<i>ni?</i>
Bisaya?	<i>iyəh</i>	<i>ān</i>	<i>isay</i>	<i>lain</i>	<i>səlīd</i>	<i>-</i>
Iban	<i>sida?ya</i>	<i>nama</i>	<i>sapa</i>	<i>laiən</i>	<i>səmoa</i>	<i>əŋgaw</i>

	if, when	how	no, not	to count	one	two
MS	kalau	bagaimana	tidak	menghitung	satu	dua
Kedayan	<i>kalaw</i>	<i>macammana?</i>	<i>inda?</i>	<i>məŋɨtuŋ</i>	<i>satu?</i>	<i>dua?</i>
Kampung Air	<i>kalaw</i>	<i>macammana?</i>	<i>inda?</i>	<i>məŋɨtuŋ</i>	<i>satu?</i>	<i>dua?</i>
Brunei Malay	<i>mun</i>	<i>macammana?</i>	<i>inda?</i>	<i>məŋɨtoŋ</i>	<i>satu?</i>	<i>dua?</i>
Tutong	<i>kalaw^h</i>	<i>macaməmbə^h</i>	<i>əndə^h</i>	<i>ŋitoŋ</i>	<i>jalə?</i>	<i>duwə^h</i>
Belait	<i>kalaw</i>	<i>macam/əmbay</i>	<i>ndəh</i>	<i>mudə^əŋ</i>	<i>ciəh</i>	<i>dəbəh</i>
Penan	<i>kalaw</i>	<i>bari?inow?</i>	<i>bə?</i>	<i>poroŋ</i>	<i>jah</i>	<i>doah</i>
Mukah	<i>kalaw</i>	<i>?</i>	<i>əndā</i>	<i>miap</i>	<i>jala?</i>	<i>duā</i>
Murut	<i>kərab</i>	<i>kədaŋapəh</i>	<i>nām</i>	<i>ŋira?</i>	<i>əwəh</i>	<i>duwəh</i>
Dusun proper	<i>kalaw</i>	<i>macam mənə</i>	<i>andi</i>	<i>ŋituŋ</i>	<i>sa?, tunggal</i>	<i>duwə</i>
Bisaya?	<i>ʔalaw</i>	<i>macaməmbə^h</i>	<i>andih</i>	<i>ŋituŋ</i>	<i>sayinan</i>	<i>duəh</i>
Iban	<i>əntey</i>	<i>bakaney</i>	<i>ənda?</i>	<i>ŋitu^əŋ</i>	<i>satəw</i>	<i>dua</i>

	three	four
MS	tiga	empat
Kedayan	<i>tiga?</i>	<i>ampat</i>
Kampung Air	<i>tiga?</i>	<i>ampat</i>
Brunei Malay	<i>tiga?</i>	<i>ampat</i>
Tutong	<i>təlu^h</i>	<i>pat</i>
Belait	<i>təlaow</i>	<i>pāt</i>
Penan	<i>təlow?</i>	<i>pāt</i>
Mukah	<i>təlaw</i>	<i>pāt</i>
Murut	<i>təluh</i>	<i>pat</i>
Dusun proper	<i>talū</i>	<i>apat</i>
Bisaya?	<i>taluh</i>	<i>apat</i>
Iban	<i>tiga</i>	<i>əmpa^ət</i>

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MALAY IN EAST INDONESIA: THE CASE OF LARANTUKA (FLORES)

H. STEINHAEUER

1.1

Wherever Malay may have originated, along the Strait of Malacca (as is generally and usually tacitly assumed) or in Kalimantan (adduced as a possibility in Adelaar 1985), it is certain that the Malay vernaculars in east Indonesia are later, and in the majority of cases comparatively recent, introductions.¹

The *Language atlas of the Pacific area* (Wurm & Hattori 1983) indicates the following Malay-speaking centres in the eastern part of the Indonesian archipelago:

- map 43: Manado (Manado Malay);
- map 45: the town of Labuha in Bacan (Bacan Malay); the southern parts of Ambon, Haruku, Saparua, part of Nusa Laut, coastal areas along the Elpaputih Bay in west Seram and the town of Bula in north-east Seram (Ambon Malay); the Banda Islands (Banda Malay);
- map 40: Kupang (Kupang Malay), Larantuka (Larantuka Malay), and an anonymous settlement; also on the east coast of Flores (see below).

Not indicated on the maps are indigenous varieties of Malay in the larger towns of Irian (cf. Suharno 1983); "North Moluccan Malay" (cf. Voorhoeve 1983; Taylor 1983) is not indicated either, but according to the reverse of map 45 it is spoken in the Labuha area (where Bacan Malay is also used) and in Ternate "as the first language of small communities, mainly Christian, in addition to being the local *lingua franca*".

In fact, in many of the larger towns and cities in east Indonesia there are families or small communities for whom a variety of Malay is their first language. However, we know very little either about these varieties or about the more established east Indonesian Malay vernaculars.

1.2

The older publications that are available on these vernaculars are mainly of a lexicographical nature and tend to stress the 'deviations' from what is considered to be Standard Malay (SM), rather than to treat them as languages *sui generis*; moreover, these publications are usually of limited linguistic

¹ An earlier version of this paper was presented at the Fifth European Colloquium on Indonesian and Malay Studies, held in Sintra, Portugal, 19-25 March 1985.

sophistication. The number of recent and more linguistically oriented publications is largely confined to Collins (1974,1980,1983), Collins, ed. (1983), Kumanireng (1982), Karisoh Najoo et al. (1981), Steinhauer (1983,1988 and elsewhere in this issue), Suharno (1983) and Watuseke and Watuseke-Polittton (1981). However, within the framework of the Dutch-Indonesian co-operation project ILDEP (Indonesian Linguistics Development Project) and the research projects sponsored by the Indonesian National Centre for Language Development (Pusat Pembinaan dan Pengembangan Bahasa) several studies have been made on east Indonesian Malay vernaculars, the results of which are available in the shape of stencilled or xeroxed research reports. One of these is Monteiro (1975), which is (besides Kumanireng and Suban Tukan) the only source on Larantuka Malay and the basis for my observations below.

Our lack of knowledge with regard to the east Indonesian Malay vernaculars is not restricted to grammar: virtually nothing is known about the circumstances under which they took root and developed subsequently into what they are today. They are sometimes referred to as creoles, but this term is not very informative. If it is as broadly defined as is done by Bolinger for instance, the label becomes applicable to a wide range of languages and with that nearly meaningless. He describes the process of creolisation in the following terms: "pidgins – trade languages...were compromises of two or more natural languages with most of the formal difficulties stripped away and a highly concrete vocabulary, whose use in particular areas became so intense that children began to learn them, and in the process turned them into natural languages – 'creoles'" (Bolinger 1980:61). And indeed he adds that "probably every language spoken in the world today is at least to some extent a creole, an offspring of contact and conflict". Once such a creole becomes established, it becomes subject to the hazards of any natural language: "foremost of which is the conflict of interests between hearers and speakers: 'you want to speak with least effort, so you speak sloppily; I want to hear with least effort, so I listen with half an ear'. The ancient round of making a mess of things and cleaning up the mess starts over again, with its consequences of near-chaos alternating with last-minute rescue." (p.61).

Most if not all languages of which it is certain that they are the result of such a creolisation process, that is which arose in historical periods, were side effects of European expansionism. This circumstance has become so much a part of more specific, socio-cultural definitions of creole, that Collins (1980) concludes that the term cannot be applied to a language such as Ambon Malay, because the Malay one may assume it was based on already had a well-established status long before the European expansion had reached the archipelago, and because the cultural interwebbing resulting in the rise and continuing development of the east Indonesian Malay vernaculars was and is of quite a different nature from the contacts that resulted in the European-based creoles. More specific *linguistic* features that have been proposed as typical of creoles turned out to fit a mainland dialect like Trengganu Malay as much as Ambon Malay, so that they can hardly be used to single out an alleged creole such as Ambon Malay vis-à-vis a variety nobody would think of as a creole. Moreover the features concerned were incidental, not structurally related, and identified on the ground of superficial similarity only.

However sophisticated the linguistic and socio-cultural criteria might become for labelling languages as creoles, no such label could replace fully-fledged descriptions of the languages and their history; moreover, these descriptions are a prerequisite for detecting the applicability of the criteria in question. The notes below are a first step in the direction of such a description for Larantuka Malay.

1.3

Although the east Indonesian Malay vernaculars have in common with each other that they present relatively recent developments in comparison to other languages in the area, which have a longer on-the-spot history, their origins and subsequent developments may be quite different.

It is clear for instance that Bacan Malay shows some conspicuous archaic features (Collins 1983:110-112) as compared with the other east Indonesian Malay vernaculars for which material is available. As J.T. Collins and C.L. Voorhoeve (the compilers of map 45 in Wurm & Hattori, eds 1983) remark, Bacan Malay and North Moluccan Malay (Ternate Malay) are not mutually intelligible; until recently Bacan Malay was even thought not to be Malay at all, but a language associated with Sula languages (Wurm & Hattori, eds 1983 reverse of map 45, cf. Collins 1983).

These differences between the various Malay vernaculars in east Indonesia may have the following causes:

1. the source languages may differ; in so far as Malay is concerned, the contributing variety may have been a real vernacular or a pidginised variety, date from a different period and/or originate from a different area;
2. the influences of local indigenous languages may have differed in intensity and character;
3. the same may have been the case with contacts with the 'outside' world.

It is well known that the influence of Indonesian as the national and fully 'modernised' language is felt in all language communities in Indonesia. In urbanised areas this influence is stronger than in the more rural regions: life is less traditional, social mobility (in which the knowledge of Indonesian is indispensable) is more frequent and more frequently pursued, education has a longer established tradition, towns and cities are the centres of government and of interethnic communication. In short, the urbanised population is much more exposed to Indonesian than the inhabitants of the more rural areas.

Because the Malay-speaking communities in east Indonesia tend to be urbanised, they are as such already susceptible to the influence of Indonesian. This susceptibility is strengthened further by the lexical and grammatical similarities between Indonesian and the Malay vernaculars, which foster interference. This influence of Indonesian is the most recent source of possible correspondences between the east Indonesian Malay vernaculars. Other (older) sources are:

1. possible mutual contacts;
2. continued influence from the/a Malay 'motherland';
3. common inheritance.

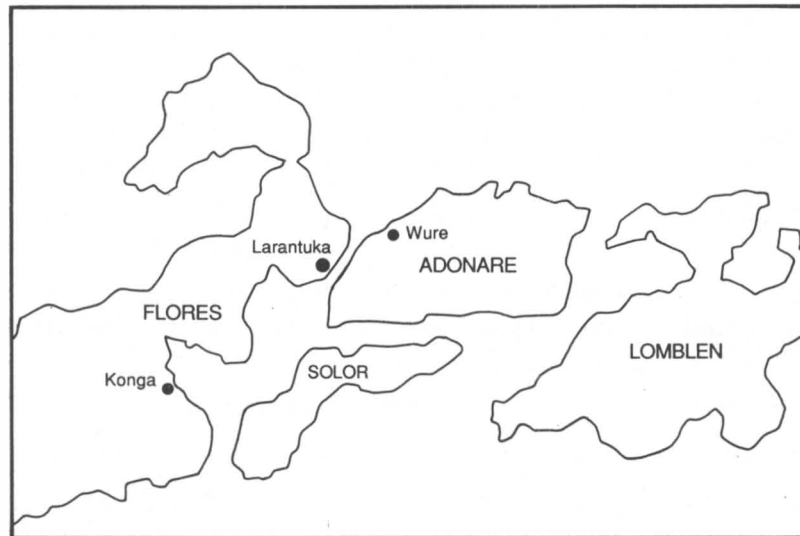
1.4

Much of the history of the east Indonesian Malay vernaculars can only be retrieved by pure historical research. Linguistics can only contribute by making descriptions, linguistic comparisons and reconstructions.

Below I will make a few remarks on the history of Larantuka and the setting of Larantuka Malay (LM), present a survey of LM phonology (both synchronic and diachronic) and discuss some aspects of LM grammar.

2.1

Larantuka Malay is spoken in and around Larantuka (the largest town of East Flores) and in the villages of Konga (East Flores) and Wure (North Adonare) (see Fernandez 1981:107; Suban Tukan 1976:18; Keraf 1977, who uses the spelling Wureh instead of Wure).



MAP: SPREAD OF LARANTUKA MALAY

According to Threes Kumanireng (1982:132) "LM is spoken by about 10,000 people living in Larantuka...[it] has a long tradition as an interethnic means of communication, but is the first language only of the coast and a few up-country pockets". She does not identify these pockets any further, however.

The village of Konga seems to be the nameless settlement in East Flores indicated as Malay speaking on map 40 in Wurm and Hattori, eds 1983. For unclear reasons the reverse of that map identified LM as Ende Malay (the town of Ende itself is not marked as having its own or any other brand of Malay), while the "many thousands" of speakers are located in Flores and Pantar (!). The map does not indicate Malay-speaking settlements on Pantar, however. If there are any, they must be of very recent origin: as recently as 1975, when I did fieldwork in the area, they did not exist (cf. Stokhof 1975).

Vatter (1932:143) mentions Konga as an old Christian village with – as in Larantuka– a "portugiesische Brüderschaft" (*confreria*), a kind of Christian lay order (cf. Vatter 1932:43; Biermann 1924:44-45; Pinto da França 1985:15,42,49). Of Wure (spelled Wureh) Vatter (1932:184) remarks that it was founded in the 18th century by refugees from Larantuka: "It is not only alien to the island, but also to the Christian community; its isolation and conscious seclusion (the consequence of an old feud with Larantuka) fossilised its Christianity into mere idolatry; the Portuguese Fraternity, which is here just as in East Flores the bearer of ecclesiastical self-government, resists each novelty, so that up till now the Catholic mission has not succeeded in bringing life and a modern spirit into Wure

Christianity".¹ Pinto da França whose book contains beautiful pictures on Larantuka and Wure (spelled Vure), recounts how in a nightly raid the Wure people took an old Portuguese bell they claimed to be theirs from a Larantuka church.

Antagonisms such as these must have led to dialectal differentiation. Suban Tukan (1976:18) indeed confirms this when he observes that "the Larantuka language is further divided into the dialects of Larantuka, Konga and Wure".²

2.2

The use of Malay in Larantuka probably dates back to the 16th century, when the Dominicans started their proselytising activities in the area by establishing themselves first on Solor (1561). Larantuka in the early days was of minor importance: it was estimated to have a hundred Christian families in 1613, when the Dutch captain Scotte conquered the Portuguese fortress on Solor and allowed – much to the annoyance of J.P. Coen, when he heard about it – some Portuguese, mestizoes and Dominicans to move freely to Larantuka (Rouffaer 1923:212). Larantuka now became the political centre of the Portuguese in the area; its importance rose even further after the fall of Malacca in 1641 (Rouffaer 1923:219). As local tradition has it, many Christian Malay families followed the Malaccan Dominicans to Larantuka and even today quite a number of families retrace their history back to Malacca (Vatter 1932:43).

The Larantuka population on the whole is strongly mixed: transmigrants from Roti, Sawu, Sulawesi (Buginese) and Ternate seem to be historically demonstrable (Vatter 1932:29); furthermore there is a Chinese community and of course there are people from the hinterland, where Lamaholot is spoken in various dialects (the Lamaholot-speaking area ranges from East Flores to some coastal areas of Pantar and Alor – see Stokhof 1975:9).

Last but not least the Portuguese, who integrated with the local population to a considerable extent should be mentioned. Several authors comment on the number of Portuguese family names current among the Larantuka population (but these may have been also a matter of baptising practices; Biermann 1924:44). One of the first Dutch officials who stayed in Larantuka after it had become Dutch by the Dutch-Portuguese treaty of 1859, was struck by the number of people whom it was clearly visible were of Portuguese origin (see Kluppel 1873:383; cf. also Vatter's (1932:30) description of the "black Portuguese"). Pinto da França (1985:59) concludes the main text of his book with the remark that "the Portuguese influence in Indonesia was the effect of a daily contact between Indonesian and humble Portuguese priests, sailors, merchants and soldiers – a relationship between man and man". That the relationship may have been between man and woman also may be apparent from words such as /jetu/ 'handsome', /dɔnadu/ 'naughty', /kajumeNtu/ 'determination of the wedding date', /fəmi/ 'family, to be family', /kəwalu/ 'to carry a child on one's shoulders' (cf. Portuguese *jeito* 'appearance, manner', *denodado* 'bold, daring', *casamento* 'wedding', *família* 'family', *cavalo* 'horse').³ The LM personal pronouns of the third person singular, however,

¹"Sie ist nicht nur ein Fremdkörper auf der Insel [which is Islamic] sondern auch innerhalb der christlichen Gemeinden; ihre Isolierung und bewusste Abschlüssung, die Folge alter Gegnerschaft gegen Larantuka, hat das Christentum in bloßen Bilderdienst erstarren lassen; die portugiesische Brüderschaft, die hier ebenso wie in Ost-Flores die Trägerin der kirchlichen Selbstverwaltung ist, sträubt sich gegen alles Neue, sodass es auch bisher der Mission nicht gelungen ist, das Christentum in Wureh mit frischen Leben und modernen Geist zu erfüllen."

²"bahasa Larantuka masih terbagi lagi atas dialek Larantuka, dialek Konga dan dialek Wure".

³I thank D.J. Prentice for these and a number of other less obvious etymologies throughout this paper. Monteiro's spelling of /kajumeNtu/, *kaju-mentu*, suggests a folk etymology (/kaju/ 'wood, tree', /meNtu/ '?'), which might explain the unexpected second syllable. LM/fəmi/ could of course also be of Dutch origin (*familie*).

suggest that this romantic picture of integration may have had its dissonants: /bica/ 'she' and /bicu/ 'he' seem to be reinterpretations of Portuguese terms of abuse: *bicha* 'worm, snake, bad-tempered woman' and *bicho* 'worm, insect, ugly/awkward person'.

Approximately six per cent of Monteiro's lexemes are of Portuguese origin, and only one per cent are Dutch. About half of the Portuguese loanwords are in the sphere of (Roman Catholic) religion. Biermann (1924:43) remarks that the Christians in Larantuka used to learn Portuguese. Several authors were struck by the Portuguese hymns that were still used in church. And even today this practice has not been abandoned, as I. Y. Fernandez told me in a personal communication. Finally it seems that the Portuguese influence was strong enough to result in a Larantuka Portuguese creole. This spread subsequently via Oekusi to Dili, but is now extinct everywhere (see Wurm & Hattori, eds 1983 the reverse of map 46 (compiled by A.N. Baxter) on pidgin languages, trade languages and lingue franche). Today only LM and Indonesian are used in Larantuka by the indigenous population.

3.1

As I have no data on Wure and Konga Malay, I hereafter deal exclusively with the Malay of Larantuka itself. As said above, my main source is Monteiro (1975). This dictionary contains about 1,800 main entries, some with sub-entries, many with short constructions (which, however, are often repeated as examples of (the) other lexemes they contain); a short introduction discusses a few grammatical phenomena.

The spelling applied in the dictionary is consistent, apart from some obvious typing errors and the opposition /ə/ (schwa, written as *e*) versus /e/ (written as *é*, but very often also as *e*).¹

According to Monteiro the LM phonemic system is as follows:

consonants:	<i>b</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>f</i>	<i>w</i>		
	<i>d</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>s</i>		<i>r</i>	<i>l</i>
	<i>j</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>ñ</i>		<i>y</i>		
	<i>g</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>ŋ</i>				
				<i>h</i>			
vowels:	<i>i</i>	<i>ĩ</i>		<i>u</i>	<i>ũ</i>		
	<i>e</i>	<i>ê</i>	<i>ə</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>ô</i>		
			<i>a</i>	<i>ã</i>			

Monteiro writes *ny* and *ng* for /ñ/ and /ŋ/. The nasal vowels, *ĩ*, are spelled as *Vn*. His examples (not his spelling) suggest that these nasal vowels occur word finally only. This is explicitly confirmed by Threes Kumanireng, who writes them as *VN* (Kumanireng 1982:135). Because they probably also occur at the end of the segments of fully reduplicated forms (whether or not accompanied by modifications) and before the only productive suffix (or clitic?) /ñə/ (see below), her statement should be modified accordingly: they occur only root finally.

The nasal consonants on the other hand do not occur root finally, but root initially, intervocally and as the first part of a cluster (and then followed by a homorganic stop), while /n/ and /ŋ/ also occur before /s/: /bonsu/ 'youngest', /mənsia/ 'human being', /səŋsara/ 'misery'.

¹Thanks to the repeated illustrating constructions it is possible to reconstruct in most cases which *e* should in fact be *é*.

I interpret both the nasal element of the root-final nasal vowel and the one found before a stop and realised homorganically as the same archiphoneme /N/, with nasality as its only feature.

Although the phonemic systems of LM and SM (Standard Malay, for the purposes of this article, is to be identified with the inherited Malay element in Indonesian) are highly similar, the distribution of the phonemes and the word shapes are quite different. Most conspicuous is the fact that LM has become a language with phonetically open syllables at the end of roots. The only counter-examples are a few modern Dutch loanwords (all monosyllabic), such as /bal/ 'ball', /par/ 'to be of the same kind, to match', /pel/ 'pill', /pas/ 'exactly, precisely', /mir/ 'ant'¹ (cf. Dutch *bal* 'ball', *paar* 'pair', *pil* 'pill', *pas* 'just, (stem of the verb) to fit', *mier* 'ant').

3.2.1

Below I formulate the sound changes that presumably have occurred, illustrated by a few examples (on the left the SM root followed by a gloss, on the right the LM cognate(s)). The unprefixed SM roots, preceded by a hyphen are only used as imperatives. The translations as infinitives are meant to represent the lexical meaning of the words that belong to the SM inflectional verbal paradigm.

When I do not give separate translations for the LM cognates, it is understood that their meaning is the same. The LM verbal system does not have the inflectional categories that in SM are expressed by prefixes.

3.2.2

Loss of root-final nasals after a vowel preceded by a nasal or a prenasalised stop:

-anyam	to weave	/aña/	
-tanam	to plant	/tana/	
-pinjam	to borrow	/piNja/	
kanan	right	/kana/	
tangan	arm, hand	/taŋa/	
gelombang	wave	/gəloNba/	
pinang	areca nut	/pina/	
embun	dew	/əNbo/	
minum	to drink	/mino/	
-gantung	to hang (tr.)	/gaNto/	to hang (tr., intr.)
gunung	mountain	/guno/	
angin	wind	/aŋi/	
anjing	dog	/aNji/	
dinding	wall	/diNde/	
cacing	worm	/caNci/	
lonceng	bell	/loNci, loNce/	

¹It is remarkable that such a word should be borrowed. Also Kupang Malay has /mir/, while Manado Malay borrowed /bifi/ from Ternatan. LM /səmo/ 'ant' is the regular reflection of SM *semut* 'ant', which seems to be a loanword too.

<i>omong</i>	to talk	/omo/
<i>tonggeng</i>	to stick up one's posterior	/toNge/ ¹

Modern loanwords follow this same pattern, cf. /səme/ 'cement' from SM *semen*.

Loss of final nasal after other vowels, accompanied by nasalisation of that vowel:

<i>malam</i>	night	/malaN/	[malã]
<i>ikan</i>	fish	/ikaN/	
<i>datang</i>	to come	/dataN/	
<i>-cium</i>	to smell, to kiss	/cioN/	[ciõ]
<i>terjun</i>	to jump down	/təɾəjoN/	
<i>turun</i>	to descent	/turoN/	
<i>ujung</i>	end, tip, top	/ujoN/	
<i>bersin</i>	to sneeze	/bəɾəseN/	[bəɾəsẽ]
<i>masin</i>	salty	/masiN/	[masĩ]
<i>kucing</i>	cat	/kuciN/	
<i>gong</i>	gong	/goN/	

Loanwords follow the same pattern, cf. Kupang Malay /fam/ 'family name', LM /faN/ (from Dutch *faam* 'fame?'); LM /kələsaN/ 'trousers' (Portuguese *calção*). The only exception I have found is /jəNbata/ 'bridge', instead of expected /jəNbataN/ (SM *jembatan* – cf. for instance the regular /bənataN/ 'animal' from SM *binatang*).

In all other positions the SM and LM nasals correspond completely, at least phonetically (the interpretation of the nasal consonants before homorganic stops as /N/ is at best a sound change of a different order, but the same neutralisation of homorganic nasals before stops should probably be adopted for SM too (cf. the SM distribution of nasals as set out in Adelaar 1985).

Loss of all other root-final consonants (*h, s, l, r, p, t, k* in that order):

<i>antah</i>	unhusked rice grains remaining in the husked rice	/aNta/	
<i>rumah</i>	house	/ruma/	
<i>suluh</i>	torch	/sulo/	
<i>jauh</i>	far	/jao/	
<i>putih</i>	white	/pute/	
<i>tindih</i>	to press	/tiNde/	
<i>boleh</i>	to be allowed, to be able	/bole/	to be able
<i>lekas</i>	quick	/ləka/	
<i>panas</i>	hot	/pana/	
<i>kurus</i>	thin	/kuro/	
<i>haus</i>	thirsty	/ao/	
<i>(se)ratus</i>	(one) hundred	/((sə)rato/	
<i>-iris</i>	to slice	/ire/	
<i>nipis</i>	thin	/nipe/	
<i>habis</i>	finished	/abi/	
<i>-tulis</i>	to write	/tuli/	

¹Wilkinson's (1932) *tonggeng* is a more likely source of /toNge/ than Poerwadarminta's (1976) *tungging, menungging*.

<i>tinggal</i>	to stay	/tiŋga/	
<i>-jual</i>	to sell	/jua/	
<i>usul-asal</i>	(more usual <i>asal-usul</i>)		
	origin	/usu-asa/	
<i>-pukul</i>	to hit	/puko/	
<i>betul</i>	right, just	/bəto/	
<i>kecil</i>	little	/kæce/	
<i>-panggil</i>	to call	/paŋge/	
<i>kail</i>	fishing hook	/kae/	
(cf. /orge/ 'organ' from Dutch <i>orgel</i>)			
<i>lempar</i>	to throw	/leNpa/	
<i>besar</i>	big	/bəsa/	
<i>telur</i>	egg	/təlo/	
<i>-campur</i>	to mix	/caNpo/	
<i>lendir</i>	mucus	/lənde/	
<i>air</i>	water	/æ/	
<i>pikir</i>	to think	/piki/	
<i>encer</i>	thin (of liquids);		
	intelligent	/eNce/	
<i>kotor</i>	filthy	/koto/	
(cf. /kəneke/ 'marble', /brude/ 'brother (of a religious order)', <i>suste</i> 'nun' from Dutch <i>knikker</i> , <i>broeder</i> , <i>zuster</i> respectively)			
<i>asap</i>	smoke	/asa/	
<i>genap</i>	complete	/gəna/	
<i>-celup</i>	to immerse	/cəlo/	
<i>tutup</i>	to close	/tuto/	
<i>kelip</i>	glittering of eyes	/kəle/	to glance sideways
<i>teritip</i>	kind of sea-snail	/tərite/	
<i>dekat</i>	close, near	/dəka/	
<i>lambat</i>	late	/laNba/	
<i>laut</i>	sea	/lao/	
<i>lembut</i>	soft	/ləNbo/	
<i>sakit</i>	ill, painful	/sake/	
<i>-jinjit</i>	to carry in one's hand	/jiNje/	
<i>leset</i>	to slip away	/lese-lese/	to totter
<i>me-rosot</i>	to slip down, to decline	/roso/	to shuffle, to slip down
(cf. /doi/ 'money', /təroNpe/ 'trumpet' from Dutch <i>duit</i> 'coin', <i>trompet</i> 'trumpet')			
<i>banyak</i>	much, many	/baña/	
<i>-tembak</i>	to shoot	/teNba/	
<i>duduk</i>	to sit	/dudo/	
<i>tanduk</i>	horns (of animal)	/taNdo/	
<i>baik</i>	good	/bae/	
<i>-petik</i>	to pick (flowers, leaves)	/pəte/	

<i>nenek</i>	grandmother	/nene/
<i>gosok</i>	to rub	/goso/

This loss of final consonants has resulted in quite a number of homonyms, for example:

		SM	
/tana/	soil, earth	<i>tanah</i>	
	to plant	<i>-tanam</i>	
/kəra/	hard	<i>keras</i>	
	to cut off	<i>-kerat</i>	
	crust	<i>kerak</i>	
/təgo/	firm	<i>teguh</i>	
	to drink (a bit)	<i>-teguh</i>	to gulp
	to address (someone)	<i>-tegur</i>	

3.2.3

The examples given so far show that the SM high vowels in closed root-final syllables tend to appear as /o/ and /e/ in LM.

It should be realised that the SM root-final vowels remain unchanged, for example *dua* 'two', *tiga* 'three', *mata* 'eye', *suka* 'to like', *tahi* 'excrement', *api* 'fire', *-cari* 'to look for', *kaki* 'foot, leg', *tahu* 'to know', *dulu* 'in former times', *abu* 'dust' have the LM cognates /dua, tiga, mata, suka, tai, api, cari, kaki, tau, dulu, abu/.

The lowering in originally closed root-final syllables seems to be unconditioned for *u*. Alongside nearly 200 examples of lowering there are fewer than ten exceptions:

<i>-suruh</i>	to order	/suru/	
(the expected LM /suro/ means 'to ebb', cf. <i>surut</i> 'to withdraw, to decrease, to ebb')			
<i>bancuh</i>	mixed up, confused	/baNcu/	to mix hot with cold water
<i>-gerumut</i>	to swarm like ants (Wilkinson)	/gərumu/	
<i>-bubuh(i)</i>	to put, to place, to affix	/bubu/	to fill, to put into, to give a name to a child
(the expected form /bubo/ means 'porridge' (SM <i>bubur</i>))			
<i>lapuk</i>	rotten, mouldy	/kəlapu/	
(the unexplained initial /kə/ makes this a suspect etymology anyway)			
<i>-kumpul</i>	to gather	/kuNpu/	
<i>kampung</i>	village	/kaNpu/	

(these latter two LM words are probably later loans: the expected form /kaNpo/ has the original and probably etymological meaning 'to gather into a whole' (cf. Wilkinson 1932; Adelaar 1985) – it may have ousted **kuNpo*; with *kampung* 'village' becoming an administrative unit, the word became part of LM vocabulary in the present form)

/usu/ in /usu-asa/ origin

(see above)

(this is ultimately a loan from Arabic, while it is also irregular by being only the first part of a compound)

/bru/ trousers

(a recent loanword from Dutch *broek*)

In short, the nature of these exceptions tends to corroborate the *Ausnahmslosigkeit* 'exceptionlessness' of the lowering of *u* in originally closed root-final syllables.

The lowering of *i* in the same positions, however, shows less regularity. Before original root-final nasals and *s*, lowering tends to stay out. Below I list all relevant forms.

With lowering:

<i>dinding</i>	wall	/diNde/	
<i>-tinting</i>	to winnow with a swaying motion	/tiNte/	
<i>licin</i>	smooth, slippery	/liceN/	
<i>lain</i>	other	/laeN/	
<i>lilin</i>	candle	/lileN/	
<i>kawin</i>	to marry	/kaweN/	
<i>bersin</i>	to sneeze	/bəraseN/	
<i>bersalin</i>	to give birth	/bərsaleN/	
<i>-kikis</i>	to scrape off	/kike/	
<i>garis</i>	line, scratch	}	/gare/
<i>-garis</i>	to line, to scratch		
<i>-iris</i>	to slice	/ire/	
<i>nipis</i>	thin	/nipe/	
<i>kudis</i>	scabies	/kude/	
<i>tiris</i>	leaking	/tire/	

(/Portuge/ 'Portuguese' is a loanword which rather goes back to Dutch *Portugees* or Portuguese *português* than to SM *portugis*.)

Without lowering:

<i>anjing</i>	dog	/aNji/
<i>-banting</i>	to throw down	/baNti/
<i>cacing</i>	worm	/caNci/
<i>kambing</i>	goat	/kaNbi/
<i>pening</i>	dizzy	/pəni/
<i>daging</i>	meat	/dagiN/
<i>garing</i>	crisp	/gariN/
<i>-guling</i>	to roll	/guliN/
<i>kering</i>	dry	/kəriN/
<i>kucing</i>	cat	/kuciN/
<i>masing-masing</i>	each	/masiN-masiN, məsiN-məsiN, məmasiN/
<i>pusing</i>	dizzy	/pusiN/
<i>angin</i>	wind	/aŋi/
<i>masin</i>	salty	/masiN/

<i>makin</i>	increasingly, the more	/makiN, məkiN, mekiN/
<i>bikin</i>	to do, to make	/beki/
(the etymology of this LM word is doubtful, not only because of the lack of a final nasal, but also because of the vowel of the first syllable, found in Manado Malay too (<i>beking</i> – cf. Salea-Warouw))		
<i>habis</i>	finished	/abi/
<i>manis</i>	sweet	/mani/
<i>menangis</i>	to cry	/mənaŋi/
<i>-tulis</i>	to write	/tuli/

Incidental exceptions are found with other final consonants too. In seven cases *i* is lowered before root-final *h*; the exception is:

<i>masih</i>	still, yet	/masi, məsi/
(bersih 'clean', LM /bərisi/ is only seemingly an exception: Wilkinson gives as a variant form <i>bərisi</i> ; cf. Kupang Malay /barisi/)		

In 14 cases root-final *ik* changes to /e/; the exceptions are:

<i>musik</i>	music (loanword)	/musi/
<i>tisi/tisek</i>	to mend a hole	/tisi/
(/tisi/ is related to Johor <i>tisi</i> (alongside <i>tisek</i>) found in Wilkinson (1932), rather than to Jakartan <i>-tisik</i> given by Poerwadarminta (1976))		

Alongside ten instances of root-final *ir* becoming /e/, the only – unexplained – exception is:

<i>pikir</i>	thought	/piki/	to think
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The conclusion must be that the lowering of *i* to /e/ in closed root-final syllables is in fact regular in inherited Malay words for other consonants than nasals and *s* (it should be added that Monteiro does not give any roots reflecting **im*, and that /masi, məsi/ cannot be explained).

3.2.4

It is now possible to arrange the sound changes discussed so far in their interrelationship and in a partly hypothetical chronological order.

Two broad phases should be distinguished.

1. The lowering of *u* in closed root-final syllables preceded the loss of root-final nasals (with or without nasalisation of the preceding vowel) and the loss of the other root-final consonants. This first sound change may in fact have been gradual, starting with some consonants and spreading to others. The Malaysian spelling until the reform of 1972 reflects such a situation: lowering of *u* to *o* before velar consonants (*k*, *ŋ*, *r*) and *h*.

It seems likely that the lowering of the other high vowel, *i*, in closed root-final syllables was related to this lowering of *u*. It may again have been a process that started before some consonants and subsequently spread to other consonants. The old Malaysian spelling can serve as an illustration again: *i* is lowered to *e* before *h* and *k*.

What is more important is that it must have been gradual in another sense, viz. as a process of lexical diffusion, at least with regard to positions before nasal or *s*. Otherwise it could not have been caught up with the rules affecting these consonants.

(The alternative solution is less attractive: the loss of root-final *s* and root-final nasal (the latter with or without nasalisation of the preceding vowel) would both have to be processes of lexical diffusion, caught up with by the lowering of *i* to /e/. Though this is in itself not impossible, it seems likely that the vowel nasalisation was a matter of Portuguese pronunciation,¹ and that affected the whole lexicon at the same time.)

2. The lowering of *i* to /e/ before root-final *s* or nasal was still proceeding when the following sound changes took place:

a) root-final *s* was dropped, and

b) root-final nasals were dropped and the preceding vowels nasalised, unless they were preceded by a nasal or a prenasalised consonant. Before other root-final consonants, the lowering of *i* to /e/ had already affected all roots, when those consonants disappeared. Again there may have been consonants that were forerunners and others that followed behind. There is no evidence that any relative order of the sound changes mentioned in this paragraph is impossible, as long as the conditions with regard to the lowering of *i* are fulfilled.

3.2.5

In principle, independent of the sound changes discussed so far a number of other sound changes have occurred. The order of their presentation below has no relation to their historical order of occurrence.

The loss of root-final *h* is complemented by the loss of *h* in intervocalic position:

<i>tahu</i>	to know	/tau/ ²
<i>tahi</i>	excrement	/tai/
<i>dahi</i>	forehead	/dai/
<i>perahu</i>	prow	/pərau/

Like vowels contract after the loss of such an intervocalic *h*:

<i>pohon</i>	tree	/poN/	
<i>jahat</i>	bad, evil	/ja/	
<i>-tahan</i>	to hold	/taN/	to hold, to touch
<i>leher</i>	neck	/le/	

Also loss of *h* word initially can be observed, but this process may have been slow (through lexical diffusion), or it was counteracted under the influence of Lamaholot where /h/ is a regular phoneme. If it had gone at all, it was reintroduced through a number of words of non-Malay origin, such as:

¹Monteiro describes the nasal vowels as nasalised with an additional [ŋ]-like quality.

²These phonemic notations are in fact doubtful. It is not clear whether Monteiro's *-au* in *mau*, *tau*, *pərau* represents the same sound, that is, a diphthong or a sequence of two vowels; similarly *-ai* in *tai*, *dai*, *mulai*.

/hole/	to plant out	
/hewiN/	to mark (cattle) by cutting a piece out of the ear	
/hopu/	to sit shamelessly on something	
/hodi-holo/	last negotiations between the representatives of bride and groom on the eve of the wedding	

Through these and similar words it was possible to retain /h/ word initially in some words (or restore it where SM or another Malay variety showed where it had to be?). Monteiro gives with /h/: /hara/ 'to hope', /hela/ 'to draw, to catch (fish)', /haluaN, aluaN/ 'bow (of a ship)', /hari, ari/, 'day', (cf. SM *harap, hela, haluan, hari*). Other roots are given only without initial *h: /alo/, 'fine', /aNpa/ 'empty', /ido/ 'to live, to be alive', /ujaN/ 'rain' etc. (cf. SM *halus, hampa, hidup, hujan*).

Word-initial s is usually retained, but in one word it disappears:

<i>sama</i>	same	/ama/
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In two instances it changes into /h/:

<i>sana</i>	there	/hana/
<i>satu</i>	one	/hatu/

A reason for these changes cannot be given, but they may be considered to reflect the uncertain position of initial /h/.

Root-final diphthongs are monophthongised:

<i>engkau</i>	you (SG)	/əNko/
<i>pulau</i>	island	/pulo/
<i>pantai</i>	shore	/paNte/
<i>sungai</i>	river	/sunge/

Function words behave unpredictably, however:

<i>kalau</i>	when	/kalu, kalo/
<i>mau</i>	to want	/mu, mo, mau/
<i>mulai</i>	to begin	/mulai/

Function words seem to behave irregularly also in other cases (cf. /masi, məsi/ instead of expected **mase* discussed above). In a number of function words the penultimate syllables appear to have been reduced:

<i>lagi</i>	again	/ləgi/
<i>tadi</i>	a while ago	/tədi/
<i>mana</i>	which	/məna/
<i>di mana</i>	where	/dəməna/
<i>ke mana</i>	whither	/kəməna/
<i>bagaimana</i>	how	/bəge(mə)na/
<i>bilamana</i>	when	/bəlməna/
<i>sekarang</i>	now	/səkəraN/
<i>kembali</i>	back	/kəNbəli/
<i>masing-masing</i>	each	/masiN-masiN, məsiN-məsiN, məmasiN/

(cf. -*tarik* 'to pull' /tare, təre/, the only lexical word with such a change)

In three cases ə changes into /e/:

<i>-jemur</i>	to dry in the sun	/jemo/ (a typing error?)
<i>lebih</i>	more	/lebe, ləbe/ (both occur more than once)
<i>berkat</i>	blessing	/berka/
(a loanword from Arabic ultimately)		

In a number of unpredictable cases lowering of high vowels to /e/ and /o/ occurs in penultimate syllables:

<i>berteriak</i>	to shout	/bətərea/	
<i>perintah</i>	order	} /pərəNta/	
<i>-perintah</i>	to order		
<i>-periksa</i>	to inspect		
		/pəresa/	
(the same cluster simplification is found in /sasi/ 'witness' (SM <i>saksi</i>))			
<i>bungsu</i>	the youngest	/bonsu/	
(For the above words Wilkinson gives variant SM forms with lowered penultimate vowels: <i>təreak, pərentah, pəreksa, bongsu</i> .)			
<i>-kerimuk</i>	to rumple	/kəremo/	filthy and rumpled (of a rag)
(the LM form could also be related to Wilkinson's <i>kərimut/kəremut</i> 'puckering of the face')			
<i>peluru</i>	bullet	/pəloru/	
(a loanword from Portuguese: <i>pellouro</i>)			
<i>kiri</i>	left (side)	/keri/	
(this may reflect an earlier contraction: < <i>ka-iri</i> , a form that is still found, for instance in Bacan Malay (Collins 1983:99)			
<i>kupu-kupu</i>	butterfly	/kəkopu/	

Within bisyllabic roots ə changes into /əɾə/ if followed by a consonant:

<i>terbang</i>	to fly	/təɾəbaN/
<i>terjun</i>	to jump down	/təɾəjoN/
<i>bersin</i>	to sneeze	/bəɾəseN/
<i>kerbau</i>	water buffalo	/kəɾəbo/
<i>berkas</i>	bundle	/bəɾəka/

berkat 'blessing', discussed above, is an exception. SM *bersih* 'clean' seems to be reflected as /bəɾisi/, but this form is related rather to the variant form *bəɾisi*, (see above). Wilkinson (1932) gives many variant forms which resemble the LM type, but of the words listed here only *təɾbang* has such a form: *təɾəbang*.

Finally I mention the remarkable though not uncommon tendency of LM to reduce antepenultimate syllables. Consider:

<i>buaya</i>	crocodile	/bəwaya/	the day after tomorrow (with loss of intervocalic <i>h</i> , and subsequent vowel contraction)
<i>suara</i>	voice	/səwara/	
<i>suang(g)i</i>	evil spirit	/səwaŋgi/	
<i>dua hari</i>	two days	/dəwari/	
<i>bicara</i>	to talk	/bəcara/	

<i>rupiah</i>	<i>rupiah</i>	/rəpia/	
<i>iriman</i>	consignment, package	/kərima/	to send
<i>binatang</i>	animal	/bənataN/	
<i>bagian</i>	part, section	/bəgiaN/	
<i>pikiran</i>	thought	/pəkiraN/	
<i>mata hari</i>	sun	/mətari/	(see <i>dua hari</i>)
<i>siapa</i>	who	/sapa/	
<i>di atas</i>	on	/data/	
<i>berapa hari</i>	how many days	/bapari/	
<i>dini hari</i>	early in the morning	/dənari/	
<i>pagi hari</i>	in the morning	/pəgari/	
<i>prajurit</i>	soldier	/pəjure/	
<i>manusia</i>	human being	/mənsia/	
<i>bagaimana</i>	how	/bəge(mə)na/	
<i>-beri tahu</i>	to tell	/bətau/	
<i>buah keras</i>	hard fruit	/bəkəra/	candlenut
<i>layang-layang</i>	kite	/ləlayaN/	
<i>laki-laki</i>	man	/kəlaki/	
<i>kupu-kupu</i>	butterfly	/kəkopu/	

4.

In this section I discuss some aspects of LM grammar. Lack of space forces me to do this in a cursory manner.

Morphologically LM is less complicated than SM. As I indicated above, verbal inflection by means of affixes and the SM opposition of actor and object focus forms is absent in LM. There are no traces of the SM verbal suffixes *-kan* and *-i*.

In a number of cases affixed forms seem to have been borrowed from Indonesian or another variety of Malay, or even inherited directly.

This is probably the case for instance, with the following verbal forms (all intransitive): /mələpo/ 'to swell', /məŋaNto/ 'to be sleepy', /mərata/ 'to roar', /məNdide, mənide/ 'to boil'. Yet prefixation of /mə/ and 'nasalization' (as in SM) seems to be productively used to derive verbs from noun bases with the meaning 'to apply [noun]', e.g. /kae/ 'fishhook', /məŋae/ 'to fish with fishhooks'.

Monteiro's (1975) dictionary contains five derivations with /pə/ + 'nasalization', but it is unclear whether they represent a productive morphological category; four refer to an instrument, one to a person, e.g. /tako/ 'to fear', /pənako/ 'coward'; /dara/ 'land (as opposed to the sea)', /pəNdara/ 'moorings'.

The SM suffix *-an* is found in a limited number of words, which apparently came into the language in that shape. There is no indication of a productive morphological process. Any synchronic morphological relationship between these suffixed forms and their historically related roots (that have undergone the sound changes described above) is doubtful. I found the following pairs:

/lia/	to see	/kəliataN/	visible
/piki/	to think	/pəkiraN/	thought
/bage/	to divide	/bəgiaN/	part, section
/aja/	to teach	/pəŋajaraN/	sermon

The following five morphological processes seem to be productive.

1. Prefixation of /tə/ to verbal roots to express 'perfectivity, involuntary action, absence of actor' and the like (as SM):

/baNti/	to throw down	/təbaNti/	fallen down and with a non-Malay stem
/wisi/	to open	/təwisi/	open(ed)

2. Prefixation of /bə/ to nominal, verbal and adjectival stems

Functionally this /bə/ seems to resemble Kupang Malay /ba/ more than SM *ber-*. The data are too limited, however, to illustrate its wide range of use adequately. See Steinhauer (1983) for an indication of the variety of functions which LM /bə/ may turn out to have. Like Kupang Malay /ba/, but unlike SM *ber-*, LM /bə/ with transitive verb bases seems to have a detransitivising effect: e.g. /bəcuci/ 'to do the washing' from /cuci/ 'to wash (something)'.

3. Full reduplication¹

I found examples of verbs, adjectives and nouns. There seems to be no difference from SM as to their meaning.

4. Partial reduplication

The process is formally as follows: $C_1V_1... \rightarrow C_1əC_1V_1...$; a variant form $C_1əNC_1V_1...$ occurs when the rest of the root contains a nasal and C_1 is not a nasal. The base can be a noun, verb, adjective or even a function word, as long as it does not begin with a vowel. There seems to be no clear functional difference from full reduplication, e.g. /masiN-masiN, məmasiN/ 'each', /bəto/ 'true', /bəto-bəto, bəbəto/ 'very, really'. Other examples are: /buda/ 'boy', /bəbuda/ 'boys', /təma/ 'friend', /tətəma, təNtəma/ 'friends', /tido/ 'to sleep', /tətido/ 'to take a nap', /təraN/ 'clear', /tətəraN, təNtəraN/ 'very clear', /tədi/ 'a while ago', /tətədi/ 'since a while ago'.

The reduplicated form of /bae/ 'good' is /babae/ 'well, good in many respects'; /bəbae/ contains the prefix /bə/ and has the meaning 'good to each other'; /bəbuñi/ on the other hand is 'sounds' (reduplication) and 'to sound' (prefixation) (/buñi/ 'sound').

5. Suffixation with the third person pronominal possessive suffix /ña/ (SM *-nya*), e.g. /ruma-ña/ 'his/her/its house'.

I only found one instance of a possessive suffix /mu/ for the second person; /ña/, however, is very frequent. In this connection it should be mentioned that possessive constructions with a cognate of *punya*, which are typical of Ambon Malay, Kupang Malay and Manado Malay, do occur in LM (e.g.

¹ 'Full' reduplication with modification is frequent but not productive. Either the first or the second part of the reduplicated form is modified. Reduplicated bases are verbal or adjectival and express random variety, duration and have often an onomatopoeic and emotional value: /koto/ 'filthy', /koto-moto/ 'very and disorderly filthy', /suNpa/ 'to swear', /suNpa-saNpa/ 'to swear and abuse (without cause or constraint)'.

/pa puN nama/ 'Dad's name'), but constructions of the SM type (/namaña/ 'his/her/its name') are much more frequent.¹

Finally one morphological process should be mentioned that is of Portuguese origin, but has spread to at least one Malay stem. It concerns the opposition of nouns in /u/ for men and in /a/ for women. The personal pronouns for the third person singular discussed above are examples too (/bicu/ 'he', /bica/ 'she'). Examples of nouns are:

/tiu/	uncle	/tia/	aunt
/kəñadu/	brother-in-law	/kəñada/	sister-in-law
/iñu/	godfather	/iña/	godmother
/saNtu/	male saint	/saNta/	female saint

(cf. Portuguese *tio, tia, cunhado, cunhada, padrinho, madrinha, santo, santa*)

/ana səNbrĩñu/ 'step-son' and /ana səNbrĩña/ 'step-daughter' are probably also of Portuguese origin (cf. *sobrinho* 'nephew', *sobrinha* 'niece'); /mənaNtu/ 'son-in-law' and /mənaNta/ 'daughter-in-law, however, are Malay (cf. SM *menantu* 'son-in-law, daughter-in-law').

5.

Above I dealt with the Malay core of LM, and alluded to the important Portuguese contribution to it. A large part of the LM vocabulary consists of words that resist easy etymologies, however. These words are probably of local origin. Lack of Lamaholot lexicographic data, however, prevents research in this direction for the moment. The Lamaholot words in Fernandez (1981) show that it cannot have triggered the typical LM sound changes discussed above.

The reduction of LM to its earlier stages seems to show that its links with Peninsular Malay are more direct than those of the other known varieties of Malay in east Indonesia. On the whole, the similarities between LM and its closest Malay neighbours (Kupang Malay and Ambon Malay) seem to be limited. But this is a preliminary conclusion. Further research on all these Malay varieties is urgently required.

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¹The independent personal pronouns are:

1SG	/betakita/	1PL	/(kə)toraN/
2SG	/əNko/	2PL	/(əN)koraN/
3SG	/bicu/ 'he'	3PL	/doraN/
	/bica/ 'she'		
	/dia/ 'he, she, it'		

The functional difference – if any – between the different forms for the same person is not clear; /kita, dia, toraN, koraN/ are chosen more often.

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ON MALAY IN EASTERN INDONESIA IN THE 19TH CENTURY

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One of the interesting aspects of the eastern Indonesian linguistic scene is the presence of Malay 'outliers' in the area. Their origins and subsequent developments are still very much a matter of conjecture, both socioculturally and linguistically. This article aims to give some background information on the use and function of (varieties of) Malay in eastern Indonesia, especially in Ambon, from Portuguese times until the end of the 19th century. It is against this background that the role is sketched of the missionary/teacher B.J.N. Roskott in the dissemination of Malay in eastern Indonesia. Special attention is paid to the variety of Malay used by Roskott in his writings, of which I include an example (a text from one of his schoolbooks) with interlinear glosses and a running translation.¹

It is a commonplace to observe that Malay has had a prominent and often dominant position among the languages of Southeast Asia ever since the rise of the Sriwijaya empire in the 7th century AD. It is likewise a commonplace to add that the cultural, political and economic circumstances which conditioned the importance of Malay were quite different in different periods, and that Malay was at no stage a monolithic, static and undifferentiated language.

On the contrary, even in the oldest Malay inscriptions dialect differences have been observed. Moreover, it is more than likely that in the 7th century there was already a situation of diglossia, in which spoken varieties of lesser prestige coexisted with the variety (or varieties) of the inscriptions, which functioned as a supradialectal norm in a society in which political power and Buddhist religion complemented each other. Also it may be assumed that varieties of Malay functioned in trade contacts between Malays and foreigners. However, very little is known about the culture and language of Sriwijaya, and practically nothing about their actual impact in areas further east in the Indonesian archipelago. The inference that there must have been early contacts with the Moluccas can only be made on the basis of the Moluccas being mentioned in Chinese chronicles from the T'ang dynasty (Keuning, ed. 1942:xx).

The only certain evidence for the use of Malay outside the regions where varieties of Malay are assumed to have been the local vernacular at the time are the Old Malay inscriptions of central and western Java in the 9th and 10th centuries. The age of undisputedly Malay loanwords in Javanese and other non-Malayic languages cannot be established with sufficient certainty to be adduced as further evidence of an early widespread impact of Malay.

¹ An earlier version of this paper was presented at the Sixth European Colloquium on Indonesian and Malay Studies, held in Passau, Germany, 22-27 June 1987.

Later periods present a more documented picture. The main difference with Sriwijayan times was that Malay from about the 14th century had become the language of Islam and of a written literary culture which, as Braginskij (1982,1983) has convincingly demonstrated, was firmly rooted in Islam and completely motivated by it.

Conversion to Islam is still widely known as *masuk Melayu* 'joining the Malays' and in Malaysia linguists are tempted to consider languages of Islamic tribes in Sabah and Serawak as belonging to the Malayic/Malayan branch of Austronesian languages, and other languages as quite different, in spite of the obvious linguistic evidence.

As long as there existed independent Islamic states, classical Malay literature continued to have a clear function. As a corollary the language of this literature also functioned as the supraregional literary norm in non-Malay-speaking Islamic sultanates in the region. Alongside this 'standard' language – which cannot be identified as the dialect of a specific area – the dialectally differentiated Malay vernaculars continued to exist and develop. Besides these, other varieties continued to be used and developed in trade contacts among people of different linguistic backgrounds.

In the course of last century, however, with the intensified and finally total European colonialisation of the Malay Peninsula and the Indonesian archipelago, the conditions for the functioning of classical Malay literature gradually disappeared. Those of its products which were least offensive to European and Christian taste of the time acquired a new function: they became exemplary of what was proclaimed by Europeans to be 'pure' Malay.

In eastern Indonesia the situation had been different. As one of the main centres of European expansion parts of the area became disconnected from Malay Islamic culture well before the 19th century. It is likely that in trade centres in the Moluccas varieties of Malay had become local vernaculars before the arrival of the Europeans, but the only evidence of this is circumstantial:

– marked archaisms (Collins pers. comm.) in the Malay of Bacan, which as an independent centre of trade and interethnic contacts lost its importance at an early stage (it was destroyed by Ternate in 1571 to remain untouched by more mainstream Malay developments);

– observations by early travellers and missionaries on the spread of Malay throughout the eastern archipelago, such as Captain António Galvão, who remarked "these peoples have many and different languages so that the islands represent a Babel...The [languages] are so many and so varied that neighbours scarcely understand each other...At present the Malayan language has come into vogue; and most of them speak it and avail themselves of it throughout the whole region, where it is like Latin in Europe" (Jacobs 1971:75). Francis Xavier made a similar observation in a letter from Ambon to the Jesuits of Europe dated 18 May 1546: "each of these islands has a language of its own, and there are islands where nearly each village has a different vernacular. The Malay language, which is the language spoken in Malacca, is very common in these parts"¹ (Jacobs 1974:13-14).

With the first European contacts, Christianity and education became the major forces in the consolidation and further spread of Malay in east Indonesia. Galvão, "Apostle of Maluku" as Jacobs (1985) calls him, was the first to make conversions in Ternate, in Sulawesi and in Morotai and Morotia (North Halmahera) (Jacobs 1971:297,299).

¹ "Cada isla destas tiene lengua por sí, y ay isla que quasi cada lugar della tiene habla diferente. La lengua malaya, que es la que se habla en Malaca, es muy general por estas partes." The English translations of quotes from Jacobs' *Documenta Malucensia* volumes are mine.

"In order to consolidate [this work] and to make it secure, he [Galvão] had the heirs and sons of the prominent people come into his house, which he transformed into a school. He taught them reading and writing and the short catechism, and all other good behaviour...and he did so for the sons of the Portuguese together with them" (Jacobs 1971:299). The nature of this school was evidently very elementary and it was the only known activity in the educational field by the Portuguese colonial authorities (Jacobs 1985:10). Education was left to the church and especially to the Jesuit Society, which played a most prominent missionary role in the Moluccas with the residency of Francis Xavier in Ambon from 1546, until they were ousted by the Dutch (from Ambon in 1605 and from their last stronghold in the Sangir archipelago in 1677).

The language used by the Jesuits in the Moluccas was Portuguese, but in their dealings with the indigenous people they also used Malay and in some cases local vernaculars. Jacobs' (1974,1980,1984) impressive collection of Jesuit missionary documents concerning the Moluccas bears ample witness to this.

During his stay in Malacca in 1545 Francis Xavier translated a catechism into Malay for use in the Malay-speaking countries such as Macassar and the Moluccas (Jacobs 1974:4). And so did Jerónimo Rodrigues in 1578-1579 – probably in more local Malay – (Jacobs 1974:54*) or Pero Mascarenhas (Jacobs 1980:24*,30,51,61,87). Unfortunately, these as well as other linguistically interesting documents have to be considered lost.¹

The use of Malay may have varied and it may not have been used for all purposes. The Jesuit Melchior Nunes Barreto, for instance, wrote in a letter from Cochin to the Jesuits in Portugal, dated 15 January, 1559, about his experience in the Moluccas: "the Malay language which is current in all these areas is the easiest language one can imagine...But...one cannot ad veritatem translate prayers in it. Those prayers we teach them in our language [i.e. in Portuguese]"² (Jacobs 1974:266-267).

Where and when Malay was used, it is not quite certain whether it was in principle a standard Malaccan variety or a more local Moluccan one. Jacobs assumes a few times (e.g. 1974:266, 1980:24*,30) that the latter was the case. In an appendix to Galvão's Treatise Jacobs (1971:367-376) gives a glossary of Indonesian and other Asian words occurring in the text. According to Collins (1980:8,62-63) this list contains at least thirteen current Ambonese vocabulary items which are not found in Standard Malay, six of which show moreover typical Ambonese sound patterns.

It is certain that a variety of Malay was in use in Ambon at the beginning of the 17th century which was basically different from the literary language current at the time around the Strait of Malacca. This can be concluded for instance from the fact that the (lost) edifying texts translated before 1611 into Malay by the merchant Albert Cornelisz Ruyl were rewritten by Frederick de Houtman into a more "common" variety, as Ruyl's Malay was not understood in Ambon (Steinhauer 1980:357,1987:93). This controversy about the Malay to be used in eastern Indonesia in general and in Ambon in particular was to continue well into this century.

Since in the early 17th century the majority of the inhabitants of the Ambon-Lease archipelago still had their own, non-Malay, indigenous languages, there were also proponents of the use of these in Protestant evangelisation. Foremost among them was Justinus Heurnius, who according to de Graaf

¹Jacobs' (1984) documents mention vocabularies and a catechism in the Siau language (Sangir archipelago) by Fr António Pereira (around 1606), a Ternatan catechism of an unknown author (before 1607), a grammar and vocabulary of the Siau language by Fr Diego de Esquivel (about 1660), grammars and vocabularies of Malay, Ternatan and Siau by Fr Francisco Miedes (about 1670) and a vocabulary of Sangirese by Fr Manuel Español (before 1678) (pp.58,64,78,120,612,657,672,673,723).

²"A lingua malaya, que por todas estas partes corre, hé a mais facil que se pode crer...Pera...nella se não podem ad veritatem tirar as oraçoens...As oraçoens lhe ensinamos na nossa lingua."

(1977:60) was the second apostle of Ambon (the first being Francis Xavier!). He translated chapters of the Bible into the language of Saparua, which unfortunately are lost.

The objections raised against the use of the indigenous languages, however, turned the scales in favour of Malay. They were of three kinds:

1. the indigenous languages were locally differentiated and more difficult than Malay;
2. they were too uncouth to be used in matters concerning religion;
3. moreover, if they were used, the users would become the laughing-stock of the Muslims, who used Malay in their explanation of the Quran (Mooij 1923:276).

The number of Christian Malay publications and hand-copied translations produced in the early 17th century was considerable (Mooij 1923:272-275; de Graaf 1977:63,183; Werndly 1736:227-342).

None of the early publications have been available to me; in fact, most of them must now be considered lost. According to Mooij's (1923:274) description, the Malay sermons by Kaspar Wiltens must have had a considerable impact on the indigenous parishioners. But in the Moluccas this book must have been superseded towards the end of the 17th century by Franchois Caron's collection of sermons, which were printed in 1693. Caron had been in Ambon from 1660 to 1674, longer than any of his predecessors, where he had continued their practice of having his sermons copied to be read by the village schoolmasters on Sundays and other occasions. On p.4 of the 'Dedication' ('Opdragt') in his book, dated 19 January 1678, he observed on this practice: "Experience taught...how tardily the copying proceeded of the Malay sermons communicated by me and my predecessors to the schoolmasters: how many errors because of that crept in in the course of time, and how the different manners of teaching, in spite of the similarity of the subject matter, confused the tender and feeble Christians."¹

According to p.2 of the 'Address' ('Aenspraecke') of the book, it was "put into informal Malay, in accordance with time, place and persons; not for pleasing the experts on the language by a high-flown style, nor for merely satisfying the scholars by an ingenious method and abstruse affairs".²

Caron's book was to remain the only text of its kind available to the Moluccan schoolmasters/preachers until well into the 19th century. In *Mededeelingen vanwege het Nederlandsch Zendelinggenootschap* MNZG (1860:180-181) its language was qualified as "so outdated and riddled with Portuguese, Latin and Dutch words, that it is not understood in its totality nor even only partially by most people, and indeed by the preacher himself".³ This was possibly true for Caron, but it was certainly true for later publications as well (see below). What is interesting, however, is that the 'deviations' in Caron's Malay from classical Malay and from the 18th century biblical Malay are not only a matter of European loanwords, but also a matter of Malay itself; my first impression is that it contains quite a lot of 'ambonisms', which deserve further linguistic investigation (see Appendix 1).

¹ "De ondervindinge leerde...hoe traeglyck het uytchryven der Maleytse Praedica ien, by my en myne voorsaten den schoolmeesters medegedeyldt, toegingh: hoe veel misslagen daer door met het verloop des tydts invloeyden, en hoe de verschillende maniere van onderwysinge, onaengesien de eenigheydt in de saecke, de teedere en swacke Christenen verwarrede."

² "...toegestelt in gemeensaem Maleys, nae de gelegentheydt van tydt, plaetse, en personen; niet om door een hoogdravenden styl den geoeffenden in die tale te ketelen, noch door een kunstige methode en diepsinnige saecken alleenlyckdengelerden te behagen."

On his yearly tours through the Christian villages of Ambon-Lease, Caron (1693: 'Dedication' p.3) had observed "that the schools were better equipped with the necessary teaching aids than the churches"¹. Whatever these teaching aids may have been in the field of religion, they probably became outdated with the appearance of the first complete Malay translation of the Bible, by Leijdekker and Van der Vorm, edited by Werndly in 1733. One of its main assets for use in eastern Indonesia was that its language was unintelligible. This highly increased its mantra-like character and its sacral appeal. Add to this that only towards the end of the 19th century did a new, alternative Malay translation (the one of Klinkert) become available – which was likewise written in a kind of Malay that was foreign to Moluccan ears – and it will be understood why this Leijdekker version was still popular in the Moluccas in the 1950s. Only with the establishment and acceptance of a Standard Malay literary language in the course of the 20th century (today's *Bahasa Indonesia*), did Moluccan Christians become receptive to a new Malay version of the Bible.

However, as long as the Leijdekker translation functioned and even before its publication, the discussion about its adequacy and quality went on (Brumund 1853, Enklaar 1963:116-117; Swellengrebel 1974:173-181). Missionaries and ministers who had worked with it for a long time were sometimes milder in their judgement. But on the whole the criticism was the same. Not only for eastern Indonesia, with its local varieties of Malay, was the language of Leijdekker's translation inadequate (in the sense of not contributing to an immediate absorption of the message), it was so also for those whose standard was the language of classical Malay literature, such as Abdullah and Van der Tuuk (Steinhauer 1987:93) – this in spite of the fact that Leijdekker's Malay was meant to be "the Malay language as occurring in the books of the Malay people"² (Swellengrebel 1974:17).

Leijdekker's Bible and Werndly's catechism (of 1732), which was written in a similar language (see Appendix 2), became the basic reading materials of the indigenous schools in the eastern Indonesian Christian communities and in fact this was all these schools were about. Already in the 17th century there were doubts about the quality of the educational system: in two letters (of 1689 and 1690) the Ambonese church council expressed its concern about the practice of learning only by heart without any understanding of the sense and content of the matter (Swellengrebel 1974:16). Obviously, the texts which became available in the 18th century were not appropriate to change this educational practice. Towards the middle of the 19th century comments about it had not changed either. Reinwardt (1858:458) for instance remarked that "the religious practices of most people are only outward and mechanical and unreasoned. At least, of the schools I visited hardly anything else can be expected. Psalm singing and reciting by heart are the major activities there."³ Similar observations are made by F.V.H.A. de Stuers (acting Governor of the Moluccas in 1837) in a letter of 18 December 1837 to the Governor-General (quoted in MNZG 1860:28): "...the schools, which are otherwise so useful for the education of the young, serve here only for mechanically learning by heart some psalms and for copying the Malay Bible"⁴.

The poor results of this type of education, which were to a high degree a matter of inadequate language of instruction, were also a reflection of the quality of the local teacher training.

³ "...zoo verouderd en met portugesche, latijnsche en hollandsche woorden doorweven, dat het in zijn geheel of zelfs maar gedeeltelijk door de meesten, ja door den voorlezer zelven niet wordt verstaan."

¹ "...dat de scholen van nodige behulpmiddelen beter waren voorzien dan de kerken."

² "...de Maleise taal, zoals dezelve in de boeken der Maleïers voorkomt."

³ "...de godsdienstoefeningen der meesten slechts uiterlijk en werktuigelijk en onberedeneerd zijn. Althans van de scholen, die ik bezocht heb, laat het zich nauwelijks anders verwachten. Psalmen zingen en uit het hoofd opzeggen zijn daar de voornaamste bezigheden."

⁴ "...de scholen, die anders zoo nuttig zijn tot de vorming van de jeugd, dienen hier alleen tot het werktuigelijk van buiten leeren van eenige psalmen en het afschrijven van den in het Maleisch vertaalden Bijbel."

Ever since the days of Sebastiaan Dankaerts, Protestant minister in Ambon from 1618 to 1622 (Mooij 1923:277; de Graaf 1977:58) these teachers had received their training as (so-called) *murids* (pupils). In MNZG (1860:178-180) this *murid* system is described as follows: candidate teachers applied to "one of the ministers, the head-schoolmaster or perhaps to some other official here [i.e. in Ambon] to become a so-called *murid* (pupil). Now he was used for all kinds of domestic services...After all, a gentleman who takes a *murid* into his home, has to see to his maintenance, clothing, victuals, monthly allowance etc.; it is fair therefore that he renders some services in return to his master. Now, in order not to let him go more ignorant than he had come, he was sent on catechisation for a few hours to the *guru besar* (head-schoolmaster) once or twice a week."¹ (cf. Kroeskamp 1974:15-16).

From these *murids* the schoolmasters for the village schools were selected, while usually the oldest and most capable among them became head schoolmaster (of which there were three at the beginning of the 19th century). Conscientious masters, such as for instance Dankaerts, must have had reasonable results, but in the first decades of the 19th century the situation seems to have been quite deplorable. In MNZG (1860:26) P. Merkus is quoted, who as Governor of the Moluccas (1823-1828) observed that the teachers there "did have the name [of teacher], but were in fact for the most part deeply incapable, superstitious and not seldom immoral people".²

Especially during the last decades of the 18th century the economic situation in Ambon had deteriorated, and the Dutch East India Company, whose spiritual interests used to be determined by their material effects, had invested very little in the maintenance of a Christian infrastructure in that period. Developments in Europe following the French revolution prevented any improvement in the early 19th century (Enklaar 1963:20-21, 33). Only after the arrival of Joseph Kam, missionary in the Moluccas from 1814 until his death in 1833, could any improvements be made. (Kam was another European to be qualified as "apostle of the Moluccas" (Enklaar 1963; de Graaf 1977:208-211).) Among his enormous range of initiatives, amply described in Enklaar (1963:109-110, 116-120, 169-174), I emphasise here his activities as distributor, publisher and translator of Christian texts. He introduced the first printing presses in Ambon, translated and published a compilation of sermons to replace Caron (1693), reprinted Werndly (1732) and a Malay psalter; furthermore he produced several circulars in Malay, adapted and published a biblical diary, and distributed Malay hymnbooks and reprints of Leijdekker's Bible. At first glance, Kam's Malay corresponds more with the language of Werndly's catechism and of the Bible than with mid 19th century Ambonese Malay (de Clercq 1876; van Hoëvell 1876), with which Caron's Malay seems to have much more in common (see Appendices 1-3).

In order to replace the old *murid* system, Kam established in 1819 the "Institute for Training Proficient Assistants" (Instituut tot opleiding van bekwame medewerkers). Lack of proficient assistants, however, and the inevitable dissipation of his attention (his parish ranging from Timor in the south-west, to the Sangir archipelago in the north and the Aru islands in the east) were the reasons why this "Institute" never properly developed. Only his later assistant and successor, G.F.A.

¹ "... een' der predikanten, den opperschoolmeester, of ook wel tot eenige anderen ambtenaar te dezer plaatse, en dan een zoogenaamde moerid (leerling) werd. Nu werd hij gebruikt tot allerhande huiselijke diensten...Immers een heer die een moerid bij zich neemt, moet voor diens onderhoud, kleding, spijs, maandgeld enz. zorgen; billijk derhalve dat deze wederkeerig eenige diensten aan zijnen heer bewijst. Ten einde echter nu niet weër onwetender heen te gaan, dan hij gekomen was, werd hij een of tweemaal 's weeks gedurende een paar uur naar den goeroe besar (opperschoolmeester) gezonden ter katechisatie."

² "...hadden wel de naam, maar waren inderdaad meestal diep onkundige, bijgelovige en niet zelden zedeloze mensen."

Gericke (1834) was able to plan a more structural solution to the teacher training problem. In 1833 this brother of Javanologist J.F.C. Gericke proposed the establishment of a teacher training college to be run by a professional missionary/teacher. In 1834 the Dutch Missionary Society sent Bernhard Nikolaas Johan Roskott to Ambon with the task of learning Malay and "teaching the young and training assistant teachers among the natives"¹ (MNZG 1859:191-192).

Apparently Roskott had studied Werndly's grammar of 1736 before he arrived in Ambon, in order to meet the first requirement of the Society. After his arrival in Ambon in March 1835, Werndly remained his source of reference: "I found plenty of time and opportunity to practise myself in Malay; soon, however, I noticed that my Malay teacher did indeed possess very little of what one calls a thorough linguistic knowledge. To my incessant questioning why *this* and why *that*, I usually got the answer: *biasa bagitu* (it is customary like that). So I resorted to my old Werndly ..." – yet Roskott did not turn a blind eye to local language use – "I soon succeeded in expressing myself fairly easily in the new language, always diligently trying to catch the right tone and way of expression of the Ambonese"² (Roskott, in a letter to the Committee of the Dutch Missionary Society for the Ambonese mission in Rotterdam, dated 27 July 1854, kept in the archives of the Hendrik Kraemer Institute, Oegstgeest, Netherlands.)

For the teacher training college Roskott was to lead, the Ambonese Assistant Missionary Society had initially proposed the following subjects as absolutely necessary to be included in the training program: reading, writing, drawing, arithmetic, knowledge of the Bible, grammar (including 'High' Malay) and "popular geography"; furthermore there should be "training in cognitive understanding", essay-writing, hymn-singing in theory and practice and finally a passive understanding of Dutch as a basis for further, postgraduate study. However, for the secular and spiritual authorities of the time such a program was much too ambitious if not subversive, considering "the restless character" of the Ambonese and the fact that they should be educated to become teachers, not missionaries (MNZG 1859:132-133). (For interesting further discussions around the curriculum of the college and for a survey of the subjects Roskott did teach, see MNZG 1859, de Serière 1851 and Kroeskamp 1974:66-75,78-88.)

The results of Roskott's activities were considerable – albeit not without drawbacks – (Kroeskamp 1974:84-91). Teachers trained at his institute swarmed out all over eastern Indonesia and by long established tradition (Knaap 1987:93) their tasks included conducting local church services and catechising. In this way they actively spread the use of Malay for prestigious purposes such as education and religion, thus contributing to the eventual success of Indonesian as the national and official language of the Indonesian republic.

Part of Roskott's success was due to the schoolbooks (Roskott 1854,1862,1864) and other didactic materials he created. The inadequacy of the existing teaching aids in terms of unavailability and language has been mentioned above. With the argument that the Bible should be the aim of education, not the means, Roskott was explicitly instructed to produce suitable schoolbooks. The need for these was also emphasised by the secular authorities (MNZG 1860:29).

¹ "...het onderwijzen der jeugd en het aankweeken van hulponderwijzers uit de inboorlingen."

² "Ik vond overvloedig tijd en gelegenheid, om mij te oefenen in de Maleische taal; al spoedig echter bespeurde ik, dat mijn maleisch-onderwijzer al heel weinig kennis bezat van hetgeen men grondige taalkunde noemt. -Op mijn gedurige vragen van het waarom dit en waarom dat, kreeg ik meestal ten antwoord *biasa bagitoe*; (dat is het gebruik aldus.) Ik nam dus mijne toevlugt tot mijnen ouden Werndly...[Het] gelukte...mij...weldra, om mij tamelijk gemakkelijk in de nieuwe taal uit te drukken, terwijl ik mij steeds bevlugde, om den juisten toon en de wijze van uitdrukking der Amboinezen...te vatten."

The language gap that existed around the middle of the 19th century between spoken Ambonese Malay and the major products of Christian Malay writing (Leijdekker's Bible translation and Werndly's catechism) as well as the two schoolbooks based on their language which were in use in the Moluccas (Brink 1839 and Wester 1840) cannot be better illustrated than by the fact that Roskott edited a fifth edition of Werndly's catechism in 1842 with 39 pages of explanatory vocabulary added (Brumund 1853:172); unfortunately I have not been able to find a copy of this edition.

Roskott also realised part of Valentijn's dream of publishing a more colloquial Malay version of the Bible by his translation of the New Testament (Roskott 1877). Furthermore he produced a Malay grammar (which was never published), the linguistic value of which is limited to the information it contains on pronunciation and on the fact that it was written in Malay. In many extensive reports and letters, and in a number of articles, Roskott accounted for his teaching methods, reported on the state of the art with regard to schools and education in the Moluccas, presented detailed information on the geography, culture and economy of Ambon and other Moluccan islands, and formulated plans for economic and cultural development.

Although all Roskott's written Malay works deserve linguistic study, for practical reasons I confine myself in the next part of this paper to some remarks on the language of Roskott 1862, which was the only one of Roskott's publications I could use extensively during the preparation of this paper.

Kitab Pematja-an (Roskott 1862) consists of over 40 short stories or parables (each about one to two pages long and with a moral glorifying devoutness, honesty and unpretentiousness), one longer story (pp.45-56), in which a teacher in dialogue with his pupils explains the usefulness of the coconut palm, and – as the full title of the book betrays – one '*peng-adjaran*' (instruction) on the basics of geography (pp.78-110). This instruction also has the form of a dialogue and seems to have been written in the same style (or period) as the short stories; the coconut story makes a different impression.

Kroeskamp (1974:85) qualifies *Kitab Pematja-an* as coming "largely within the mental capacity of the Moluccan children" and containing "a number of useful lessons on the fundamentals of geography and on physics", but it suffered in his view "from an evil encountered in all Roskott's books, namely a rather strange spelling". However, this evil was not of Roskott's making. The spelling he used was to a large extent traditional: Leijdekker, Werndly and their followers display the same peculiarities and many more. The sample text at the end of this paper and Appendices 2 and 3 show the improvements that Roskott introduced on the spelling of his predecessors, which appear to be more or less exact transliterations of the traditional Jawi spelling.

In three respects Roskott's spelling gives indications of Ambonese Malay pronunciation of his time:

1. in words which did not occur in classical Malay and for which consequently no Jawi spelling tradition existed, the spelling is evidently closer to phonetic reality than in the words for which a Jawi model was extant;
2. in cases of non-phonemic spelling based on tradition or transliteration, alternative and hypercorrect spellings are revealing for the actual pronunciation of the words in question;
3. where the Jawi spelling is insufficiently informative; that is, in the indication of the vowels, Roskott's spelling is in theory again more in agreement with phonetic reality, although the impact of tradition here should not be underestimated.

All Roskott's texts seem to have a hybrid character. The short stories of 1862 show three different varieties of Malay: the biblical variety in quotations from the Bible, usually at the end of the story, a colloquial variety, most prominent in dialogues and direct quotations, and a 'higher' variety, which is more clearly present in the descriptive passages. Constructions and vocabulary which are presumably typical of Ambonese Malay occur throughout the texts, but they are less concentrated in the descriptive sections. The hybrid character of Roskott's texts reflects on the one hand the diglossia which was (and is) inherent to the use of Malay, and on the other hand the way in which Roskott had acquired his knowledge of Malay: through "his" Werndly and through his daily contacts with the Ambonese Malay community.

A third 'component' of his Malay consists of syntactic and semantic interferences from Dutch. Because of this hybrid character of Roskott's language, his texts cannot be used as an independent source of information on mid-19th century Ambonese Malay (AM). For the identification of AM elements in Roskott's Malay other sources are therefore indispensable, in particular van Hoëvell (1876, 1877), de Clercq (1876) and Collins (1980).¹

As indicated above, Roskott's spelling is still to a large extent based on the Christian Malay tradition of transliterating Jawi orthography. Not only in Arabisms but also in Arabic loanwords which are today completely assimilated (such as Bahasa Indonesian BI *kuat* 'strong', *hal* 'matter, case, respect', *saleh* 'pious') the original Jawi spelling is imitated (*khowat*, *hhal*, *tsalehh* etc.).

In a few instances Roskott uses Dutch words, usually as an explanation of newly coined terms (such as *pusat selatan* 'south pole', *tampat uwap* 'atmosphere', *uwap hidop* 'oxygen', *uwap mati* 'nitrogen', *gadji berhenti* 'pension', *baris timbangan* 'equator'); in these cases the Dutch spelling is used (*pool*, *atmospheer*, *zuurstof*, *stikstof*, *pensioen*, *Linie* etc.).

The following observations are based on the non-Arabic, non-Dutch vocabulary in Roskott (1862).

The vocabulary contains the following letters: *a, b, d, e, f, g, h, i, j, k, l, m, n, o, p, r, s, t, u, w*. In addition to these letters Roskott uses the diacritic symbols ` , ´ and ¨, as well as apostrophe and hyphen. The symbols ` and ´ seem to indicate word stress (see below). The apostrophe is used to indicate the absence of an additional syllable (or syllables) as in *dija awrang/di'awrang/d'awrang* 'they, them'.

The hyphen is used as in current Indonesian spelling, in reduplicated forms. Furthermore it seems to represent [ʔ] between vowels; V-V alternates with the spelling VV and sometimes even V-Ů, e.g. *su-ar/suär* 'sweat', *mula-i/mulai* 'begin'. Finally a hyphen is often found between roots and the suffix *-an*, between prefixes and roots which begin with a vowel, and between the prefixes *meng-* or *peng-* and a root whose 'underlying' form begins with *k*: *adjar-an* 'lesson', *peng-adjaran/peng-adjar-an* 'instruction', *ber-angkat* 'depart', *meng-arti* 'understand', *ka-ingin-an* 'wish', *meng-asijani* 'pity (someone)' (from *kasijan* 'pitiful'). The use of the hyphen seems to be consistent only in cases of reduplication. In Roskott (1877) it has been done away with in all other cases. In that source the symbol ¨ is used instead, but only when two consecutive vowels are not phonetically connected by a glide: VV. Only between unlike vowels in the middle of a morpheme, do I interpret the spellings V-V and VV as /VʔV/. In other positions [ʔ] is not phonemic.

¹Some of my remarks concerning AM are also based on observations by E. Tahitu (1989) and D. van Minde (forthcoming) in their studies on AM in the Netherlands and in Ambon.

The following combinations of consonant symbols appear to be digraphs: *dj*, *tj*, *nj*, *ng* and *kh*; they represent [c, ɟ, ñ, ŋ] and back velar [k] or unreleased [k̚] respectively. In writing, *kh* is opposed to *k* at the end of morphemes. But *k* occurs regularly only in two stems: *bajik* 'good' and *najik* 'climb'; in all other stems *kh* is found.¹ This opposition reflects the Jawi orthographic opposition ك (k) versus ق (kh). Whatever the exact phonetic origin of this spelling may have been, *k* and *kh* are in complementary distribution in non-Arabic vocabulary and therefore do not represent a phonemic distinction: they both represent /k/. In Roskott (1877) the spelling distinction is no longer made, *k* being used in all positions.

Vowel phonemes are represented in writing by single vowels and/or by combinations of a vowel and *h*, *j* or *w* (see below). In the sequences *uwV*, *owV*, *ijV* and *ejV* (in which *V* is a vowel), *Vwu* (in which *V* ≠ *i*, *e*) and *Vji* (in which *V* ≠ *u*, *o*), *w* and *j* seem to be automatic glides: I do not consider them as phonemes in these positions.

Intervocally, between the ultimate and penultimate syllables, the fricatives *f* and *s* tend to be doubled: *tiffa* 'k.o. drum', *bressi/bresi* 'clean', *bassah/basah* 'wet', *kassar* 'rough' etc. I do not assume these double fricatives to represent separate phonemes.

The resulting consonantal system of Roskott's Malay vocabulary does not differ dramatically from the system of Standard Malay/Indonesian (SM/BI).

TABLE 1: THE CONSONANTAL SYSTEM OF ROSKOTT'S MALAY

	stop		nasal	fricative	trill	lateral	glide
	voiced	voiceless					
labial	<i>b</i>	<i>p</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>f</i>			<i>w</i>
alveolar	<i>d</i>	<i>t</i>	<i>n</i>		<i>r</i>	<i>l</i>	
palatal	<i>j</i>	<i>c</i>	<i>ñ</i>	<i>s</i>			<i>y</i>
velar	<i>g</i>	<i>k</i>	<i>ŋ</i>				
glottal		ʔ		<i>h</i>			

/f/ occurs only in a few words of presumably local Moluccan origin, such as *tjafaruni* 'ugly', *tiffa* 'k.o. drum'.

Word finally the opposition of /m/, /n/ and /ŋ/ seems to be neutralised. This is apparent from alternative spellings, such as:

<i>gampang/gampan</i>	easy	SM/BI	<i>gampang</i>
<i>masin/masing</i>	salty	SM/BI	(<i>m</i>) <i>asin</i>
and from a number of spellings which are etymologically unexpected:			
<i>anggang</i>	dislike, averse to	SM/BI	<i>enggan</i>
<i>rotang</i>	rattan	SM/BI	<i>rotan</i>
<i>liling</i>	candle	SM/BI	<i>lilin</i>
<i>labuwang</i>	harbour	SM/BI	<i>pelabuhan</i>
<i>randang/randang</i>	soak	SM/BI	<i>rendam, merendam</i>
<i>dukon</i>	support (verb)	SM/BI	<i>dukung, mendukung</i>
<i>mari-an</i> ²	cannon	SM/BI	<i>meriam</i>
<i>balakan</i>	back	SM/BI	<i>belakang</i>

¹Once I found *bajikh-bajikh* 'well' and once *pejrak* 'silver' (instead of regular *pejrakh*).

²The function of the hyphen in this word (which occurs twice in this spelling) is unclear to me.

<i>tampuron</i>	coconut shell	SM/BI	<i>tempurung</i>
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Word finally, expected *kh*, *t* and – rarely – *p* do not always materialise. The number of words in which this happens is limited:

<i>indja</i>	step on	SM/BI	<i>injak, menginjak</i>
<i>njamuw</i>	mosquito	SM/BI	<i>nyamuk</i>
<i>bengko</i>	bent	SM/BI	<i>bengkok</i>
<i>pete</i>	pick (flowers, fruit)	SM/BI	<i>petik, memetik</i>
<i>poloh</i>	embrace	SM/BI	<i>peluk, memeluk</i>
<i>rabe/rabej</i>	tear (verb)	SM/BI	<i>rabit, merabit</i>
<i>bangka</i>	swollen	SM/BI	<i>bengkak</i>
<i>masa</i>	ripe	SM/BI	<i>masak</i>
<i>memasa</i>	cook (verb)	SM/BI	<i>memasak</i>
<i>gosoh/gosokh</i>	rub	SM/BI	<i>gosok, menggosok</i>
<i>meng-antoh</i>	tired	SM/BI	<i>mengantuk</i>
<i>batarea/batareä</i>	scream (verb)	SM/BI	<i>berteriak</i>
<i>takadjoh/takadjó</i>	frightened	SM/BI	<i>terkejut</i>
<i>balumpa/balompah/balumpah</i>	jump (verb)	SM/BI	<i>melompat</i>
<i>lipa</i>	fold (verb)	SM/BI	<i>lipat, melipat</i>
<i>berubah</i>	treat medically (alongside	<i>ubat</i>	'medicine, gunpowder')
		SM/BI	<i>berobat</i>
<i>paruw</i>	rasp	SM/BI	<i>parut, memarut</i>
<i>meraja</i>	creep (verb)	SM/BI	<i>merayap</i>

Most of these words – if not all – belong to the typically Ambonese part of Roskott's lexicon.

According to Roskott's grammatical sketch of Malay, *h* is pronounced word initially in a limited number of words only; he mentions *hamba* 'slave', *huru-hara* 'turmoil', *hening* 'clear'. In other words its presence is merely orthographic, such as in *hitong* 'count (verb)', *hitam* 'black', *hidjuw* 'green (adjective)', *hidong* 'nose', *hisap* 'suck', *huluw* 'upper end', *hibor* 'cheer up', *hudjong* 'end, tip, point', *hudjan* 'rain'. There are no indications that *h* in intervocalic position was not pronounced.

Syllable finally after *e* and *o*, *h* was possibly an indication of vowel quality (see below). After other vowels in this position, *h* was merely a matter of orthography. The following phenomena may be adduced as evidence:

1. unexpected absence of *h*, as in:

<i>rubu</i>	fall down	SM/BI	<i>rubuh</i>
<i>conto</i>	example	SM/BI	<i>contoh</i>
<i>randa/randah</i>	low	SM/BI	<i>rendah</i>
<i>bowa/bowah</i>	fruit	SM/BI	<i>buah</i>
<i>pata/patah</i>	break	SM/BI	<i>patah</i>
<i>kassi/kaseh</i>	love (noun)	SM/BI	<i>kasih</i>

2. unexpected presence of *h*, as in:

<i>mejdjah</i>	table	SM/BI	<i>meja</i> , from Portuguese <i>mesa</i>
<i>oseh</i>	you (familiar)		from Portuguese <i>você</i>
<i>lampoh</i>	pass	SM/BI	<i>lampau</i> past
<i>pisoh</i>	knife	SM/BI	<i>pisau</i>

<i>segrah</i>	immediately	SM/BI <i>segera</i>	
<i>djuroh bitjara</i>	spokesman	SM/BI <i>juru bicara</i>	
<i>bawah/bawa</i>	bring, carry	SM/BI <i>bawa, membawa</i>	
<i>menjalah/manjala</i>	bright	SM/BI <i>menyala</i>	flame, flare up
<i>petah/pata</i>	map (noun)	SM/BI <i>peta</i>	
<i>lensoh/lenso</i>	handkerchief	from Portuguese <i>lenço</i>	

- the unusual but consistent transliteration of ڤاڤا / ڤاڤا 'old' as *tuwah*;
- the spelling of words in which final **t* or **k* has disappeared, such as *balumpa/balumpah* (see above).

From Roskott's grammatical sketch it can be inferred that the high vowels /i/ and /u/ both have two allophones, occurring in open and closed syllables respectively. Their phonetic value is described by Roskott as 'long' versus 'short', which are the traditional Dutch school grammar terms for 'tense' and 'lax'.

Word finally, /i/ appears in writing as *i* or *ij*, /u/ as *u* or *uw*. In all other positions they are written as *i*¹ and *u*. The spellings *ij* and *uw* versus *i* and *u* are traditional: where Jawi spelling indicates /i/ and /u/ word finally, the spelling of Roskott and his predecessors is *ij* and *uw*; where it did not, they write *i* and *u*. In his grammatical sketch Roskott already questioned the need for the orthographic distinction and in Roskott (1877) only *i* and *u* are used word finally.

Roskott's description of the phonetic value of the non-high vowels is rather confusing. In his terminology, *a* may be 'long', 'shorter' (i.e. shorter than 'long'), 'short' and 'longer' (i.e. longer than 'short'). Indications on the distribution of these phones are incomplete and obscured by the fact that Malay and Arabic words are discussed indiscriminately. There are no indications, however, that their distribution in non-Arabic words is not complementary. I assume therefore that *a* represents only one phoneme: /a/.

Roskott seems to distinguish three phonetically different non-high back vowels: 'short', 'long' and 'long and slightly higher' (i.e. than the 'short' variant). This 'long and slightly higher' variant is written as *oh*. The 'short' variant is confined to closed syllables and is written as *o*. The 'long' variant occurs according to Roskott in open syllables, and is written as *o* or *aw*. The latter spelling reflects the presence of a vowel sign in Jawi spelling. However, in some of its occurrences the sequence *aw* represents /aw/; Roskott mentions as examples *angkaw* 'you (sg. polite)', *ataw* 'or' (and the non-Malay words *mawt* 'death', *khawm* 'group, clan, class', *Pawlus* 'Paul'). In the particle *pawn* 'even', however, I assume *aw* to represent the 'long' back vowel again (cf. BI *pun*, Caron (1693:passim) *pon*). If this is correct, there is an opposition 'long' versus 'short' in closed syllables. In open syllables there is also only one binary opposition, namely 'long' versus 'long and slightly higher'. The lexical consistency with which Roskott applies the spelling *oh* versus *o* and *aw* corroborates this conclusion. The only exceptions are the Portuguese loan word *lenso/lensoh* 'handkerchief' and *takadjó/takadjoh* 'frightened', in which the accent probably marks the place of the stress (see below), but possibly also the same 'long and slightly higher' vowel quality which is indicated by *h*. As the Dutch opposition 'tense' versus 'lax' (which for non-low vowels is

¹The spelling of the object focus prefix *di-* which systematically alternates with *de-* does not indicate a 'deviating' spelling of /i/. The preposition *di* 'in, at', which is often written as a prefix, does not have such a variant form. There does not seem to be a semantic difference between the two forms of the object focus prefix. I interpret the variation as a morphological phenomenon. It should be noticed also that Werndly (1736) uses both object focus forms without indicating any semantic distinction.

concomitant with the features 'higher' versus 'lower') is traditionally termed 'long' versus 'short', the phonetic nature of the non-high back vowel opposition is probably /o/ versus /ɔ/.

The remaining non-high vowels probably have to be divided into /e/ and /ɛ/. In his grammatical sketch Roskott distinguishes *ej*, *eh* and *e*; *ej* is qualified as 'stretched, stronger and lengthened', *eh* as 'stronger and lengthened' (both as compared with *e*) and *e* as 'short' or 'soft and short'. In antepenultimate syllables before a vowel *ej* regularly alternates with *ij* (/i/): *bejasa/bijasa* 'habitual', *pejara/pijara* 'breed, raise'. In other words *ej* is found either word finally or in open penultimate syllables. In both these positions alternative spellings with *e* occur, too often to be insignificant, for example:

<i>rabe/rabej</i>	torn	SM/BI	<i>rabit</i>
<i>pake/pakej</i>	use, wear	SM/BI	<i>pakai</i>
<i>gale/galej</i>	dig	SM/BI	<i>gali</i>
<i>bangke/bangkej</i>	carcass, corpse	SM/BI	<i>bangkai</i>
<i>lebar/lejbar</i>	broad	SM/BI	<i>lebar</i>
<i>medjah/mejdjah</i>	table	SM/BI	<i>meja</i>

As *ej* only occurs where Jawi spelling has a vowel symbol, its presence is probably a matter of orthographic tradition. I assume that 'soft and short' *e* does not differ functionally from *ej*.

An alternative solution would be that 'soft and short' *e* should be interpreted as [ə]. Apart from the spelling alternations (*lebar/lejbar* etc.), there are three arguments against this:

1. 'short' *e* derives historically from Proto Malay *ə in closed syllables in all but one of Roskott's scarce examples; the exception is *patek* (from **pətik* or **patik*), in which *e* is certainly [ɛ] rather than [ə]. Besides, 'short *e*' is the traditional description of [ɛ] in Dutch school grammar;

2. *ə appears as *a*, *i*, *o* or *u* in many other words in open and closed syllables, for example:

<i>tantu</i>	certainly	SM/BI	<i>tentu</i>
<i>kitjil</i>	small	SM/BI	<i>kecil</i>
<i>kobon</i>	garden	SM/BI	<i>kebun</i>
<i>punoh</i>	full	SM/BI	<i>penuh</i>

so it would be unlikely that *ə should be preserved as [ə] only in some open syllables;

3. in Malay letters from Roskott's pupils (kept in the archives of the Hendrik Kraemer Institute in Oegstgeest, Netherlands) spellings with 'soft and short' *e* sometimes alternate with spellings with *i*, e.g. *dengan/dingan* 'with'.

I interpret therefore both 'stretched, stronger and lengthened' *ej* and 'soft and short' *e* as one phoneme, which should be relatively high: /e/. The conspicuous phonetic difference may be a matter of position, *ej* occurring at the end of the word and in stressed syllables, *e* in unstressed non-final syllables; this, however, is a conjecture, as Roskott presents insufficient information on the place of stress (see below).

Although *eh* phonetically differs from 'short' *e*, I assume them to represent the same phoneme, since their distribution is complementary: 'short' *e* occurs in closed syllables, *eh* in open. The lexical consistency with which *h* is maintained in these cases shows that it has a phonetic function and that it is not conditioned by orthographic tradition. Moreover, also in Moluccan words (for which no spelling tradition existed) final *-eh* is written consistently, e.g. in the pronoun *oseh* 'you (sg. familiar)', which occurs dozens of times throughout the texts. At the end of a non-final syllable, *eh*

occurs in only two words: the Biblical *behkan* 'aye' (several occurrences in Roskott 1862) and the Moluccan word *tehteh* 'grandparent' (occurring once, alongside three times *teteh*). I interpret *eh* and 'short' *e* as the phoneme /ɛ/.¹

The resulting vocalic system is summarised in Table 2; it should be noted that the oppositions between /e/ and /ɛ/ and between /o/ and /ɔ/ are practically confined to open final syllables.

TABLE 2: THE VOWELS OF ROSKOTT'S MALAY

	front	central	back
high	<i>i</i>		<i>u</i>
mid	<i>e</i>		<i>o</i>
low	<i>ɛ</i>	<i>a</i>	<i>ɔ</i>

Stress in Roskott's Malay is usually not indicated. However, final syllables sometimes bear an accent (usually ´); in the majority of cases the SM/BI cognates have /ə/ in the penultimate syllable. Some examples are:

<i>tedòh/tedóh/tedoh</i>	quiet	SM/BI <i>teduh</i>
<i>terbáng</i>	fly (verb)	SM/BI <i>terbang</i>
<i>takadjó/takadjoh</i>	frightened	SM/BI <i>terkejut</i>
<i>bakál</i>	supplies, provisions	SM/BI <i>bekal</i>
<i>tamán/taman</i>	friend	SM/BI <i>teman</i>
<i>randáng/randang</i>	soak	SM/BI <i>rendam</i>
<i>bulóm/bulom</i>	not yet	SM/BI <i>belum</i>
<i>duwa belás</i>	twelve	SM/BI <i>dua belas</i>
<i>tagáp</i>	erect (adjective)	SM/BI <i>tegap</i>
<i>bobó</i>	smell (verb)	SM/BI <i>berbau</i> or <i>bau-bau</i>

In other cases the accent sign seems to be less motivated:

<i>rámas/ramas</i>	knead	SM/BI <i>ramas, meramas</i>
<i>tjafarúni/tjafaruni</i>	ugly	(no SM/BI cognate)
<i>páruw/paruw</i>	rasp	SM/BI <i>parut</i>
<i>raróban</i>	fluid residue after the preparation of coconut oil	(no SM/BI cognate)
<i>tjólo-tjólo</i>	k.o. vinegar sauce	(cf. SM/BI <i>celup, mencelup</i> 'dip')
<i>tokó</i>	shop	SM/BI <i>toko</i> ²

The differences in inventory and distribution between the phonemic systems of Roskott's Malay and SM/BI are presumably caused by the following sound changes occurring in Proto Malay and exclusive to Roskott's Malay:

1. lowering of **i* and **u* in final closed syllables to /ɛ/ and /ɔ/ (with constraints);
2. lowering of **i* and **u* to /e/ and /o/ before /a/ (with exceptions);

¹In Roskott (1877) *ej* has been replaced by *e*, and in very few words by *é*, such as in *béta* 'I, me', *sétan* 'devil', *hé* 'hi!'. Instead of *behkan* 'aye', *békan* is used. The spelling *grédja* 'church' alongside *gredja* in Roskott (1862) seems to foreshadow this later spelling. It is possible that the opposition /e/ versus /ɛ/ is in fact neutralised in non-final position.

²The accent in *tokó* is perhaps a printing error; [cóló] is current Ambonese Malay for 'dip'.

3. loss of final **h* (general)
loss of final **k* (restricted)
loss of final **t* (restricted)
loss of final **p* (incidental);
4. assimilation of **ə* in the penultimate syllable to the vowel in the final syllable (with many exceptions);
5. fronting of **ə* (to /e/ in open syllables and /ɛ/ in closed syllables) or lowering (to /a/) in positions where no assimilation has occurred (the conditions are as yet unclear);
6. velarisation of word-final **n*
velarisation of word-final **m* (more restricted).

Sound change 1 clearly preceded 3-5; furthermore it is likely that 4 preceded 5; for the rest no relative order of occurrence can be established. Which of these sound changes were typical of AM deserves further investigation; 1-3 are also characteristic of Wernndly's Malay.

It is interesting to observe that the *Hikayat Tanah Hitu*, which dates from the middle of the 17th century and which was written by the Muslim Ambonese Rajadi in Jawi script, shows a number of spelling peculiarities which are similar to those discussed above. Manusama (1977:11-15) presents lists of words which have undergone some of the following sound changes:

<i>*ə</i>	--->	<i>a</i>		---	(N)CaC
<i>*ə</i>	--->	<i>u</i>		---	CuC
<i>*h</i>	--->	∅		---	#
(and hypercorrectly: <i>*V</i> ---> Vh ---#)					
<i>*k</i>	--->	∅		---	#
<i>*n</i>	--->	ŋ		---	#
(and hypercorrectly <i>*ŋ</i> ---> n ---#)					

In the following remarks on Roskott's morphology, I confine myself to phenomena which occur with some frequency throughout the texts. The scope of this paper prevents me from commenting on more limited and lexical curiosities.

The most salient feature of present-day AM morphology is the scarcity of it in comparison to SM/BI. The only productive morphological processes are reduplication (of nouns, adjectives and verbs) and affixation of *baku-* (with verbs and adjectives), *ba-* (with nouns, verbs and adjectives) and *ta-* (with verbs). These processes correspond to SM/BI reduplication, preposing *saling* 'each other', and prefixation of *ber-* and verbal *ter-*. AM *baku-* and *ba-*, however, have a wider range of semantic possibilities than their SM/BI equivalents.

Suffixation with the 'possessive' pronominal affixes (on nouns) *-ku*, *-mu*, *-nya* and prefixation (on transitive verbs) with *di-*, indicating object focus and unknown third person actor, are not unknown to AM, but it is likely that they are the result of SM influence. Other types of affixation, productive (or at least frequent) in SM/BI, such as suffixation with *-kan*, *-i* and *-an*, prefixation with *meng-* (and variants), *ku-*, *kau-*, *se-*, *ke-*, *per-* and *peng-* (and variants), and circumfixation with *ke-* *-an*, *per-* *-an* and *peng-* *-an* (and variants), do not occur at all in AM or are only incidental or even completely lexicalised.

With regard to its morphology, Roskott's Malay agrees largely with SM/BI, although there are a number of non-SM formations, probably Werndlyisms, such as *bapertjerminkan* 'reflect', *taper-anakh* 'born', *dedatangnja*, NB a passive from an intransitive base, with the Dutch gloss '*het komt*' (it comes). Moreover, there are many lexical differences.¹

In a few respects Roskott's Malay also agrees with AM:

1. the verbal stem is used in positions where SM/BI requires an actor focus form with the prefix *meng-* (or one of its allomorphs). I have not been able to determine whether this stem form differs in any sense from the *meng-* forms, which are also used by Roskott. Werndly (1736:104-106) presents a three-page-long paradigm of the verb 'to hit', consisting of mere periphrastic forms on the basis of the stem forms *pûkol* and *pûkollah*. This paradigm is repeated and even enlarged in Roskott's grammatical sketch. About the prefix *meng-* (as well as the prefix *per-* and the suffixes *-kan* and *-i*) Werndly (1736:109) only observes that they 'strengthen' or 'enlarge' transitive verbs and derive transitive verbs from intransitive ones. Roskott does not discuss the function of *meng-* (and variants) at all;

2. for reciprocal forms Roskott uses AM *baku-* instead of SM/BI *saling*, also with adjectives, e.g. *baku dekat* 'close to each other';

3. the AM prefix *ba-* is used alongside SM/BI *ber-* without an apparent functional difference. Their distribution, however, is lexically nearly complementary; the texts contain 71 lexemes prefixed with *ber-* and 21 with *ba-*, and only two lexical stems appear with both prefixes: *berkira* 'think', *bakira-kira* 'think, reflect, ponder' (both occurring once), and *balajar* (7x)/*berlajar* (3x) 'sail (verb)'. Forms whose stems show AM characteristics (such as loss of final stop in proto-form) appear to have the prefix *ba-*, e.g. *balumpa* 'jump' (and variants – 8x), *batarea* 'scream (verb)' (and variants – 10x). Although this points to an AM status of all *ba-* forms, it should be kept in mind that Werndly (1736) gives *ber-* and *ba-* forms without making any distinction between them. There is no overwhelming evidence that *ber-/ba-* in Roskott's Malay has a wider usage than *ber-* in SM/BI, but there are some unusual formations, such as *berdatang* 'arrive, reach', *berlapar* 'be hungry', *berbahagi* 'divide (transitive)', *ber-adjar* 'teach';

4. in five lexemes the prefix *ta-* is found, whereas for other lexemes *ter-* is used. Three of these *ta-* forms have typically AM stems: *takadjó/takadjoh* 'frightened', *tarabe* 'torn', *tapeleh* 'screened off'. However, it should be noticed again that Werndly (1736) has both *ter-* and *ta-* forms, without any distinction;

5. Roskott uses the derivations *pentjuri* and *pemalas* in the meaning of the words they are historically derived from: 'steal' and 'lazy' (cf. SM/BI *curi*, *mencuri* 'steal', *pencuri* 'thief', *malas* 'lazy', *pemalas* 'sluggard'). These two category shifts are typical of AM (and of other east Indonesian varieties of Malay). Alongside *pentjuri* 'steal', however, Roskott also uses the more regular *mentjuri* 'steal' and *pentjuri* 'thief'.

In the field of morphology Roskott's Malay also shows influences of Dutch. The reduplicated forms of nouns are used as translations of Dutch plural forms. They regularly occur for instance in

¹ Some of the new terms Roskott had to coin for his lessons on geography serve as examples of such lexical differences:

<i>barislebar-an</i>	degree of latitude	<i>baris kapulang-an mata hari</i>	tropic
<i>baris timbang-an</i>	equator	<i>pemimpinkilap</i>	lightning-conductor
<i>khawat api-api-an</i>	electricity	<i>penondjokh oras</i>	clock, watch
<i>per-idar-an</i>	orbit	<i>peminggir</i>	tangent
<i>perlintas-an</i>	diameter	<i>deperteladan</i>	given as an example

combination with indefinite numerals, and in other contexts where SM/BI would avoid them, for example:

<i>kaki-kakinja</i>	his feet
<i>mata-mata kami</i>	our eyes
<i>segala uwap-uwap</i>	all vapour particles
<i>segala hari-hari kahidopanku</i>	all the days of my life
<i>banjakh tanda-tanda tjinta</i>	many signs of love
<i>manusija-manusija banjakh</i>	many people
(but also <i>manusija banjakh-banjakh</i> 'people in large numbers')	

The verbal *ter-/ta-* forms often appear to be translations of a Dutch past participle. Dutch non-perfect passive verb forms consist of a form of the auxiliary *worden* and a past participle. Since this auxiliary is homonymous with the verb *worden* 'become', Roskott creates constructions with the 'auxiliary' *djadi* 'become' and a *ter-/ta-* form or even a *di-* form, e.g. *djadi terdjual* 'be sold', *djadi teramas* 'be kneaded', *djadi terbahagi antara* 'be divided among', and also *djadi debahagikan didalam* and *djadi dibahagikan dalam* 'be divided into'.

There are also obvious Dutchisms in the field of syntax. I mention four of them:

1. *ada* and *adalah* (in SM/BI 'to be there, to exist' and 'to be (by definition)') are used indiscriminately as translations of the Dutch verb *zijn* 'to be'; that is, they are also regularly used as a copula, for example:

bejta ada sa-awrang adil
I am a righteous person

negerinja ada amat djawoh
his village was very far

Petrus ini adalah satu anakh jang kapista
this Peter was a wretched boy

Karel adalah sawatu anakh jang bajik
Charles was a good boy

dalam satu tuwan punja rumah adalah banjakh tikus
in the house of a gentleman there were a lot of mice

2. as the last three sample sentences above show, *satu* and *sawatu* are not only used for 'one' (Dutch *een* [en]), but also as translations of the Dutch indefinite article *een* [ən];

3. relative clauses often appear to be introduced by *yang mana* (SM/BI 'which?'); this is the translation of Dutch *welke* 'which?' and 'which (relative pronoun)'. Unlike SM/BI relative clauses, but like Dutch ones, Roskott's relative clauses can be preceded by a preposition, for example:

3,040 midras, dalam jang mana djadi tapeladjari 300,500 anakh midras
3,040 schools in which 300,500 school children are instructed

tampat itu, deri jang mana kita awrang sudah kaluwar
that place, from which we had departed

sampej dedapatnja satu lijang dalam jang mana ija masokh sembunjikan dirinja
until he came to a hole in which he entered hiding

kami akan dapat tempat kombali deri jang mana kami sudah angkat sahu
 we will find the place again from which we had raised the anchor

(In the last example above the syntactic separation of *dapat* and *kombali* and of the relative clause and its antecedent, as well as the expression *angkat sahu* 'raise the anchor', are Dutch.)

4. the particles *lah*, *sudah* and their combination *sudahlah* are translations of the Dutch tenses. Here Werndly is again Roskott's master. Some examples¹ are:

ija bijasa kompollah anakh-anakh didalam rumahnja, dan adjarlah banjakh perkara padanja
 he used to collect the children in his house and taught them many things

satu anakh laki-laki...jang ibu bapanja sudahlah mati
 a boy whose mother and father had already died

pohon bowah-bowah jang Meno sendiri sudahlah tanam, tempo dija muda lagi
 fruit trees which Meno himself had planted when he was still young

There are also a number of syntactic correspondences with AM. These concern the use and form of some function words, preposed demonstratives, and possessive constructions with *punja*.

Roskott uses two sets of personal pronouns, one of which is AM, the other SM:

		AM	SM
singular	1	<i>bejta</i>	<i>aku</i>
	2	<i>oseh</i>	<i>angkaw</i>
	3	<i>dija</i>	<i>dija, ija</i>
plural	1	<i>kita awrang</i>	<i>kami</i>
	2	<i>d'awrang</i>	<i>kamu</i>
	3	<i>d'awrang</i> (<i>dija awrang/di'awrang</i>)	<i>marika itu</i>

In the manuscript of his translation of the gospel of John, Roskott (1856) justifies his choice of *angkaw* instead of *oseh* as second person singular pronoun, since the latter would be too familiar. In Roskott's (1862) texts *angkaw* is used in prayers, *oseh* towards children. The same intimacy opposition probably holds between *d'awrang* (occurring only in one story, used towards children) and *kamu*. For the rest there do not seem to be semantic differences between the AM and SM/BI forms: they alternate in the same passages and even sentences, for example:

kalu kita awrang tanam kalapa tjara bagini, dengan lakas-lakas djuga kami sampat dapat
banjakh bowah-bowah deri padanja
 when we plant a coconut palm like that we can get many nuts from it in a very short time

ija najik dija punja kareta
 he got into his carriage

marika itu tanam d'awrang punja kalapa
 they plant their coconuts

The two sentences above are also examples of the AM type 'possessive' construction, albeit with the 'full' form *punja* instead of the current 'short' form *pung*. These occur alternating with SM/BI

¹Examples like these are especially frequent in the 'coconut dialogue' (Roskott 1862:45-46), which must have been written earlier than the other stories and the 'instruction'.

constructions, e.g. *bejta punja badan terlalu lombot/badan bejta terlalu lombot* (both p.15) 'my body is too weak'.

Some other examples in Roskott's texts of AM possessive constructions are:

satu dominggo punja lama
the length of one week, one week long

dija punja ibu punja sawara
his mother's voice

pisang jang dija punja adekh punja
the banana of his younger sibling

dija pudji dija punja diri sendiri
he praised himself

dija buka dija punja mulut besar-besar mawu kassi dengar dija punja sawara, sopaja andjing bawleh tambah dija punja pudji lagi
he opened his mouth as wide as he could wanting to make his voice heard, so that the dog could praise him even more

Roskott's texts also contain about ten examples of preposed demonstrative pronouns, for example:

kamu tijada sampat patah itu tudjoh panggal kajuw
you cannot break these seven pieces of wood

bejta tanja, kaluw tsobat-tsobat ada suka pada makan itu makan-an sedap
I ask whether you, my friends, like to eat that delicious food

These constructions are exceptions, however. In the vast majority of cases the demonstratives follow the noun phrase, as in SM/BI. In AM both constructions occur, and even combinations; in any case preposing is much more frequent than in Roskott's Malay.

The last sample sentence above is also an example of the aspectual use of *ada*, which is characteristic of AM and of other east Indonesian varieties of Malay (such as Kupang Malay and Manado Malay). Furthermore it is an example of the use of the preposition *pada* (which occurs alongside *para*, *par* and – with verbs – also *akan*), where SM/BI has *untuk* 'for, in order to'; this latter word, *untuk*, is completely absent in Roskott's texts.¹ Some other examples of aspectual *ada*, which always seems to convey a sense of 'progressiveness', are:

oseh punja buluw mejrah-mejrah ada bakilap sampej tra² bawleh
your red feathers are sparkling to an impossible degree

sedang dija awrang ada bermajin-bermajin lagi, Pieter dapat lihat satu bidji durij-an
while they were still playing on, Peter happened to see one durian

kalu kita awrang ada balajar di lawut
when we are sailing at sea

¹In this connection it should be mentioned that I have not found any example, either, of *akan/akang* in the current AM sense of 'it'.

²Roskott's texts contain three forms corresponding to SM/BI *tiada/tidak* 'no': *ujada*, *trada* (both frequent) and *tra* (only once or twice). The last form occurs in current AM in a number of set constructions. The most frequent AM negation, [suj], does not occur in Roskott's texts.

kita awrang manusija jang ada tinggal di atas bumi ini, tijada bawleh lihat dengan mata bahuwa dunja kami ada buntal

we people, who are living on this earth, cannot see with our eyes that our world is round

Finally Roskott's texts contain a number of syntactically expressed causatives (with the auxiliary *kassi*, also meaning 'to give'), where SM/BI have morphological derivations. Such constructions with *kassi* are also typical of AM (as well as of other eastern Indonesian varieties of Malay), for example:

ija kassi lari dija punja kuda sampej di negeri

he let his horse run as far as the village

sijang malam marika itu kassi berdjalan kira-kira

day and night they kept their thoughts going (*kassi berdjalan* 'let walk')

ibunja kassi tahu pada kepala negeri

his mother informed the village head (*kassi tahu* 'let know')

kita awrang tijada bawleh kassi turon hudjan deri langit, akan dapat ajer pada minom dan memasa, dan trada bawleh kassi tombuh pohon kajuw

we cannot cause the rain to come down to get water for drinking and cooking, and we cannot let the trees grow

The above remarks on morphology and syntax are necessarily fragmentary. Moreover too much emphasis is laid on contrasts with SM/BI. In order to present a more holistic and less biased picture of Roskott's style and language, I reproduce below one of his short texts in the original spelling¹, complemented by interlinear glosses and a running translation (both mine).

Duwa awrang negeri berdjalan sama-sama pulang deri kawta,

two human.being village walk together return from town

Two villagers were walking back home together from the town,

satu nama Hein jang lajin nama Nikolaas. Hein, ada satu

one name Hein the other name Nikolaas Hein be one

one was called Hein, the other Nikolaas. Hein was a

awrang jang bajik, tetapi dija ada satu bejasa jang

human.being which good but he be one habit which

good man, but he had one

tjafaruni sakali, awleh jangmana banjakh kali dija sudah

loathsome very by which many time he already

very loathsome habit, as a result of which he had already many

dapat malu, ijaitu kalu dija tutor sabarang apa-apa,

get embarrassed viz. when he say any thing

times become embarrassed, namely whenever he told anything

santijasa dija suka istori besar – punja umur

always he like.to tell.stories big have age

he always liked to make big stories out of it – in all his life

¹Two printing errors in the original text have been corrected, as well as a few inconsistencies in the punctuation.

trada bawleh bilang sabarang apa-apa dengan betul, segala
 not be.able say any thing with correct all
 he had never been able to say anything correctly, all

wakhtu djuga dija mawu tambah-tambah.
 time also he want add-repeatedly
 the time he wanted to exaggerate.

Maka sedang kaduwa awrang itu berdjalan-djalan, marika itu
 well, while both human.being those walk.leisurely they those
 While both of them were walking on, they

langar satu awrang punja kobon, dimana tuwan kobon itu
 pass one human.being have garden where lord garden that
 passed someone's garden, where the owner

ada gale-gale kombili. Di-antara kombili ini ada satu
 be dig.up-dig.up tuber in-between tuber these be one
 was digging up tubers. Among these tubers there was one

kambóti dengan bowah-bowah besar dan bagus sakali.
 k.o. basket with fruits big and beautiful very
 basket with very big and beautiful fruits.

Nikolaas kata: bajik! bajik! kombili punja besar djuga!
 Nikolaas say good good tuber have big also
 Nikolaas said: "That's good! That's good! That certainly is a big tuber!"

tantu tanah gumokh sakali didalam kobon ini.
 surely land fat very inside garden this
 Surely the soil must be very fertile in this garden".

Hein menjahut, oh! itu bulom apa-apa, tempo bejta balajar
 Hein answer O that not.yet thing time I sail
 Hein answered: "O, that is nothing yet. At the time I was

lagi dibalakan tanah Buru, bejta sudah lihat kombili
 still behind land I already see tuber
 still sailing on the other side of Buru, I saw one tuber,

sabidji, besar sakali-kali, sapuloh awrang tagáp-tagáp
 one.piece big extremely ten human.being strong.strong
 extremely big, ten men strong as they were

trada bawleh angkat, dija besar sama satu paparissa. Nikolaas
 not be.able lift it big like one shed Nikolaas
 could not lift it, it was as big as a shed". Nikolaas

trada menjahut apa-apa, dija dijam djuga, karana dija tahu
 not say thing he quiet also because he know
 did not answer anything; he kept quiet because he knew

bajik-bajik, bahuwa tamannja Hein ada parlente kombali.
 well that his.friend Hein be ramble back
 well that his friend Hein was rambling again.

Maka sedang d'awrang berdjalan-djalan lagi Nikolaas tanja pada
 Then while they walk.leisurely again Nikolaas ask to
 And while they were walking on Nikolaas asked

Hein, kalu-kalu dija sudah lihat tatjuw besar itu, jang
 Hein whether he already see frying.pan big that which
 Hein whether he had seen that big frying pan which had

baharuw awrang bawa deri tanah Wolanda. Hein kata, bejta
 just human.being bring from land Holland Hein say I
 just been brought from Holland. Hein said: "I

bulom dapat lihat, bagaimana besar dija ada? Oh! dija besar
 not.yet get see how big it is O it big
 have not yet been able to see it. How big is it?". "O, it is

sakali, besar sama kita awrang punja grédja, Nikolaas
 very big like we have church Nikolaas
 very big, as big as our church", Nikolaas

menjahut. Sabantar Hein angkat tertawa, kata:
 answer instantly Hein raise laugh say
 answered. Hein immediately burst out laughing and said:

tawbat! bawleh bikin tatjuw lagi besar sama
 you.don't.say be.able make frying.pan again big like
 "You don't say! To be able to make a frying pan as big as

kita awrang punja grédja, sijapa gila pada pertjaja barang
 we have church who crazy for believe thing
 our church, who would be crazy enough to believe such a thing?".

bagini. Sabantar Nikolaas menjahut, dengan tersinjum:
 like.this instantly Nikolaas answer with smile
 Immediately Nikolaas reacted smilingly,

itu awrang bikin pada mawu rabus kombili besar itu, jang
 that human.being make for want cook tuber big that which
 "People made that to cook that big tuber in, that

oseh sudah dapat lihat dibalakan tanah. Baharuw Hein dapat
 you already get see behind land only.then Hein get
 you happened to see on the other side of Buru". Only then did

meng-arti bahuwa tamannja mawu permalukan dija,
 understand that his.friend want make.ashamed he
 Hein understand that his friend wanted to make him feel ashamed

tagal dija punja istori besar, dija tijada manjahut apa-apa
 because he have story big he not answer thing
 because of his big stories; he did not say anything

lagi, tetapi dija ambil sawatu putus-an dalam hati jang dija
 again but he take a decision in heart that he
 more, but he decided in his heart that he

mawu djaga dija punja diri bajik-bajik sakali, dan djangan
 want guard he have self well very and don't
 would control himself very well and not

parlente lagi, agar djangan sakalijen awrang kenal
 ramble again in.order.to don't all human.being know
 ramble any more, lest all people should know

dija sama sa-awrang pendusta.
 he like somebody liar
 him as a liar.

"Awrang adil membintji kata-kata dusta, tetapi
 human.being righteous hate words lie but
 "A righteous man hates lying, but

awrang fasikh perbusokhkan dan permalukan dirinja."
 human.being sinful pervert and make.ashamed himself
 a wicked man is loathsome, and comes to shame."

Amtz. 13:5
 Proverbs 13:5

APPENDIX 1

ILLUSTRATION 1: A PAGE FROM CARON (1693)

36

Artigo jang VII.

dofa deri Allah dalam dunja ini, daan djanja tida bole haram? Boucan itou jadi batoutor dalam Euangelium? Daan diorang sendiri rassa dalam hati deri pada sahitan Ruah Ulcadus? Sabla orang djahat pounja hal warna lain, boucan Allah fouda haram dia orang? Sabda fouda menhouccum djanja ca matti? boucan diorang pounja hati sendiri mengadou daan toutor amara Allah? Djica begini, appa tadaya houccuman tercommedien, sedang cami dengar, macca houccum fouda poutus di dunja ini? Menjaot adda begini:

1: Macca suara terhouccum, jang fouda sembounji facaran, demikien jaddi toutor trang adapan sa gnep orang. Seperti maafcat deri Tsjaurat jadi toutor daulo dalam sembounji di penjara orang balongou, daan demikien jaddi batja adapan sa gnep orang deri pada Juretullis; Begitou Christus mau britau adapan segalla manusia daan melaicat, berboatan deri orang adil, daan dofa deri orang djahat, lagi toutor suara jang berpahlhara sabla, daan suara harami sabla; agar caduanja mengaco sin coucouroubou, macca suara ini adda betul djouga.

2: Suara terfebout Christus mau iffi; toutor gnep facali-cali, daan boat djouga paracarra, jang dia fouda bacatta daulo. Orang adil, ferta suara calouar, ferta mastoc idopan tercacal, daan orang djahat pegi di api naraca. Sefongo Allah mau tarou begini faract trang facali-cali di tenga cambing daan tumba, talla dia lepaskan oumatnja deri segalla tfilacca, acan membri soucahan semporna, daan sabla bri rassa fixa tercacal, jang catoudjo dengan dofa. Carna itou tida jaddi gnep di dunja ini, manna ontong deri orang terpitfaja banja calilebe djahat deri anac anac Seytan ampounja, patut jaddi djouga di foudahan dunja.

3: Begimanna daan tsjara appa Christus mau pegang houccum ini? Ampat warna:

a: Houccuman ini acan datang segrà, talla orang tida adda nanti. Tuan dapan seperti orang pantsjouri malam, tallc rouma pounja

Tuan ridor. Seperti sanfara beranac djankie sagra pada parampouan bounting. Pada djana ini, mannacalla mou tida fikir, seperti djerat pada segalla manusia di boumi ini. Inila famoa ande ande jang surat Allah toundjoc, agar bri mengarti, macca Tuan cami inau combali deri surga; talla manusia tida nanti acanja, daan tida bertemou waetou, acan salin hati.

b: Houccuman ini jaddi bisey daan bahamoulja. Deri itou Jureho cum sendiri catata, macca segalla asfal sacali njata Anac lelaki manusia datang di awang dengan cawassa daan mouljahan besar. Roupada deri parracarra itou, wellakientida gnep, mou bole bertemou dalam orang terhouccum cami, sedang djanja dengan haibat, packean terhoemat, daan sinjata caliatan adapan manusia baratos baribous, daan bri barang penamoon di tangan hakim daan mirinjo, agar houccum bedjalang segrà. Hanja makin saribous cali jaddi bahamoulja cardjahan deri Jurehouccum surgani, mannacalla dia caliatan di awang langit, trang seperti mattahari, dengan melaicat balaxa baribous, daan fouro djanja ca outara, salatan, barat, timor, agar campon segalla manusia adapan Christus, daan tterey orang baic deri djahat, pon dia mau pangil Seytan dengan melaicat melaicat dia, seperti mirinjo, acan badiri adapan kursi Tuan, jang caliatan di tenga langit, dalam mega.

c: Houccuman tercommedien jaddi tercodjut meliat. Carna Christus combali dengan Tria-ria besar, dengan bounjihan namphyri, pon dengan suara sendirinja, cras begini, macca orang matti bole dengar dalam coubour daan terbangon: laot ingar bangar, boumi gompas, segalla dunja menjala, tsjakre pegi, tanda jaddi caliatan di mattahari bounlang, bintang, daan hati orang roussa facali-cali deri pada tfilacca, jang djankie commedien pada boumi ini. Tagal itou Radja Radja, orangcaya tercawassa, lagi orang miskyn daan hamba hamba ingin sembounji dalam grongon, daan batria pada gounong gounong; djaatola atas cami, pada boukit boukit, toutopla cami

APPENDIX 2

ILLUSTRATION 2: A PAGE FROM WERNDLY (REPRINT 1816) AND A PASSAGE FROM HIS INTRODUCTION (P.v)

78

Taslimu-'Itahhikh.

FATSAL JANG KA XX.

Pada mentjeriterâkan Takhdîs, 'Asmâl
tsâlelh, dâñ TZabât segala Walij.

1. Sû'âl. 'Apâ menjertâ'ij tasdîl 'itu ?

Ijawâb. Takhlîs.

2. Sû'âl. 'Apâ farâkh 'antâra tasdîl dâñ takh-
dis 'itu ?

Ijawâb. Bahuwâ hûtang dawfa dehâpuskan
'awleh tasdîl, dâñ tjelâ dawfa pawn 'awleh takh-
dis. 1 Kor : 6. 11.

3. Sû'âl. 'Apâ 'itu takhdîs ?

Ijawâb. Bahuwâ 'itu perg'ardjâ'an Rôlhu 'llhu-
dus dâlam 'awrang mû'min, 'âkan futjikan dija 'aw-
leh kârana 'Elmesêlh de'ri pada karusâkan dâñ
tjelâ dawfa, dâñ membaharuwîj dija 'âtas rûpa
'Allah.

4. Sû'âl. Bûkankah 'itu lâgi perg'ardjâ'an 'aw-
rang mû'min ?

Ijawâb. Behkan : 'itulâgi 'ada 'usâha 'awrang
mû'min, 'âkan mentjerejkan dirinja de'ri pada dun-
jâ 'awleh ferta perg'ardjâ'an Rôlhu-'llhudus, dâñ
farahkan sendirinja kapada 'Allah, dâñ kapada
chidmetnja. 2 Kor : 6. 17, 18.

5. Sû'âl. Sijâpa meng'ardjâkan takhdîs 'itu ?

Ijawâb. 'Allah jang tzulâtz, 'istemejwa Rôlhu-
'llhudus.

VOORREDE N.

eene overzetting geheel verduistert, en de andere, dewyl gehoopt wierdt, dat de zelve, ofschoon gebrek-
kig, nog eenigen dienst zoude doen. by ontbeering
van beter, is gemeen gemaakt, en, naar allen vermoeden,
reeds meest versleten.

De taal, welke ik in dit boekje gebruikt hebbe, is de
gemeene Maleische taal, zo als de zelve in de Schrif-
ten der Maleiers voorkomt, en in de Maleische over-
zettinge des Bybels van ons gevolgd is.

Doch doordien deze boeken met geen eigentlyke
Maleische letter gedrukt worden, ('t welke hope dat
nog veleens zal geschieden, op dat de Maleiers en
andere Natiën, die taal en letter gebruikende, door
het lezen van Gods woordt tot't onderzoek deszelfs
mogen gebragt worden) hebbe ik niet ondienstig
geoordeeld hier voor af te laten gaan een kort Bericht
van de Maleische, en van onze daar voor gebruik-
te letteren, met een onderwys van de uitspraak der
zelve, tot een voorlooper van een Maleische *Spraak-
konst*, welke ik voornemens ben U. E. mede te deelen,
gelykook al't gene ik, zo Godt wil en ik leve, ten
dienste van Gods Kerke en't gemeen zal ondernemen,
terwyl ik my met deze hope vleie, dat de *Edele Acht-
bare Heeren Bewindhebberen der E. Oost-Indische
Maatschappy*, myne Hoog geëerde Heeren en Mees-
ters, deze myne pogingen met alle middelen zullen
ondersteunen, tot uitvoeringe van die groote zaaken.

Ik smeeke den Allerhoogsten, dat hy aan de *E.
Maatschappy* rykelyk wil vergelden het goede aan
zyn Huis gedaan, en zynen Dienstknecht door zyn
Geeft en genade bewerken, om alle ziels en lichaams
krachten in te spannen ten dienste van zyne Kerke,
en voortplantinge des Evangeliums in Nederlands
Indië. Met dezen oprechten wensch en bede zal ik
altdt trachten te zyn.

U. E. Getrouwe Dienaar in den Heere,
GEORGE HENRIK WERNDLY.

KORT

Translation of the second alinea: "The language I have used in this booklet is the common Malay language, such as it occurs in the Scriptures of the Malay, and has been followed by us in the translation of the Bible".

APPENDIX 3

ILLUSTRATION 3: A PAGE FROM KAM (1826)

210 REWĀJAT JANG KADAWLĀPAN.

Nata kāmij 'ada kadapĀtan dĀlam Risālet Pawlus
 kapada 'awrag Rawmā: 8. 9. Tetāpi djĳkalaw
 bĀrag sa'awrag sudah tijāda ber'awleh Rōlh
 'Ehmesēh, lĳkay 'ija 'ini 'ada miliknja.

Welākin 'ada bĀnjĳh djenis mānusija p dan bĀ-
 njakh djenis pagkat p jang marika 'itu melakūkan
 dĀlam dunjā, jangij tjāra perij mānusija natsānij tetāpi
 tjāra perij Rōlhānij 'ada duwa djenis djūga dihadĀpan
 'Allah. 1 Segala 'awrag jang berparāngij meūrut dĀ-
 gig. 2 Segala 'awrag jang hidop dan jang bakardja
 tūrut Rōlh leperti kāmij dĳpat pada 'ĳat jang ka 5:

Maka segala 'awrag jang pertama marika 'itu san-
 tijāsa tjahārij dan melakūkan segala perkāra jang gūni
 dĳgig, djūga sedĳg sudahlah 'ija taper'ānakh deri pa-
 da dĳgig, tĳgal 'itu segala ka'inginan, kasukā'an, ka-
 'ontōgānja 'ada satu rūpa.

Hānja 'awrag jang kaduwa jang sudah taper'ānakh
 pūla deri pada Rōlh, marika 'itu berdirij dibāwah
 peghentĀran Rōlh, jang mematutkan dija, 'awleh pa-
 kar(tjā'annja didĀlam hĳti p marika 'itu, kapada segala
 perbowĀtan Rōlhānij, maka berbūruwlah 'ija santijāla
 'ĳakan segala perkāra Rōlhānij dan tjaharilah 'itu de-
 ngan saganĳp khōwatnja, lĳtu meĳ'asehilah 'ija, sega-
 la bĀrag jang deri pada Rōlh djūga, maka sedĳg 'ada
 duwa djenis-mānusija p jang deūkijĳen, bĳjklĳh sala-
 'awrag deri pada kāmij mempariksĳkan sendirinja bĳ-
 jik p pada 'awrag tijāpa kāmū tertantu, kĳrana pada
 kaduwa perkāra, 'ini bergantōg thĳl kāmij sampej sala-
 mā p nja, māwu pada ber'awleh chalĳts jang kakĳl,
 māwu pada keĳna kūtōh, dan berdirij dibāwah mor-
 ka 'Allah sampej salāma p nja. Kĳrana segala 'awrag
 jang berpĳragij meūrut dĳgig, 'itu tijāda lampat ber-
 kenĳan pada 'Allah, dan 'itu 'ada sawĳtu thĳl kapada
 kāmati p an. Kĳrana rōlh jang meĳhidopkan 'itu bū-
 kan 'ada miliknja, lĳgi 'ijĳlah būkan sawĳtu 'ānakh
 'Allah, dan būkan sawĳtu deri pada segala 'aggawta

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